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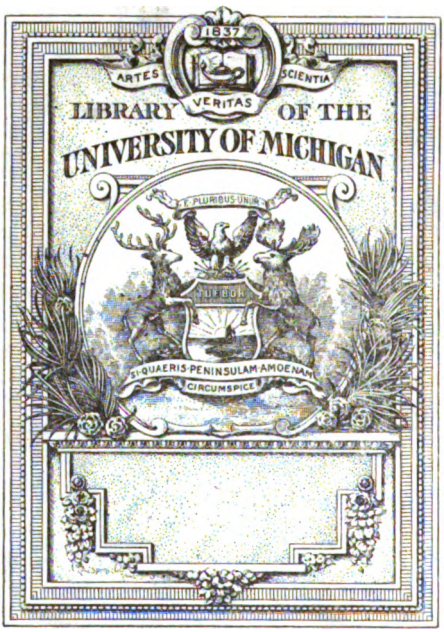

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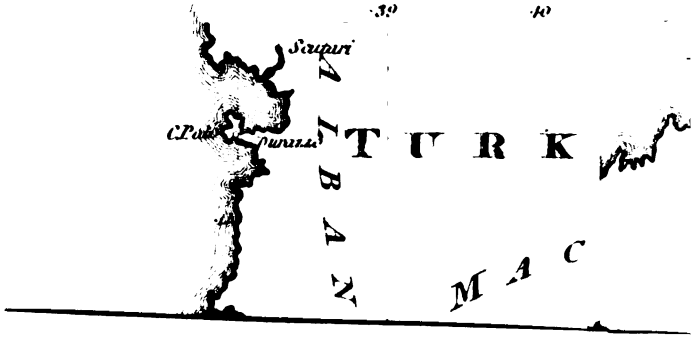

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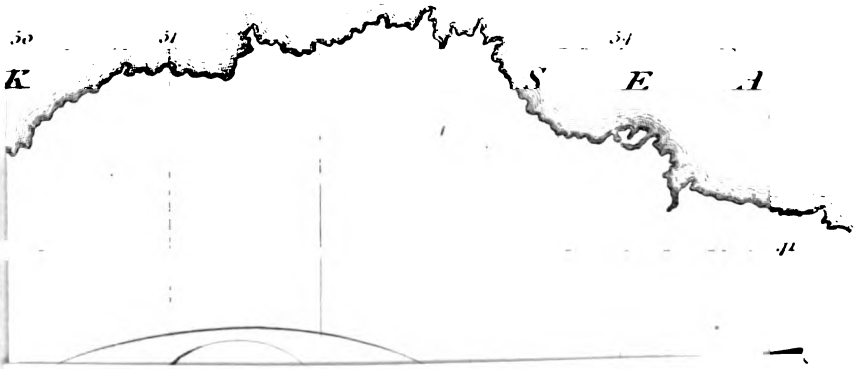

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TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

EUROPE ASIA AND AFRICA

BY

E. D. CLARKE LL. D.

PART THE SECOND

GREECE EGYPT AND THE HOLY LAND

SECTION THE SECOND

FOURTH EDITION

VOLUME THE FIFTH

LONDON
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TO THE

PRESENT EDITION.

THE Author gladly avails himself of the opportunity offered by a new Edition of this part of his Work, to acknowledge his obligation to a very celebrated traveller, *John Hawkins*, Esq. for a valuable communication, respecting *La Guillitiere;* whose account of *Athens*, published in *Paris* in 1675, the Reader will find mentioned in the twelfth chapter. It seems that the criticisms made by *Spon* upon that publication did not pass unregarded by the editor of *La Guilletiere*'s narrative; but that they elicited an answer, full of very bitter animadversion, and severe satire, upon *Spon*'s own work: to which the latter replied with even greater asperity; and he endeavoured to prove that the pretended *La Guilletiere* was a fictitious character, and that no such person had ever set his foot in *Athens;* but that the account of its antiquities, which bears his name, was nothing more than a spurious publication, made from the

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observations of the Missionaries. *La Guilletiere*'s "Account of *Athens*" had been edited by his brother, *Guillet*; and it is this *Guillet* who attacked *Spon*, after the publication of his work, in a *critique* entitled, "*Lettres écrites sur une Dissertation d'un Voyage de Grèce publié par M. Spon, Médecin Antiquaire; avec des Remarques sur les Médailles, les Inscriptions, l'Histoire Ancienne et Moderne, la Géographie, la Chronologie, et une Carte des Détroits de Constantinople, selon les nouvelles Découvertes de l'Antiquaire:*" *à Paris*, 1679. 12*mo. pp.* 288.—In this *critique*, which is evidently the production of a writer of talents, and which abounds with the liveliest sallies of wit, its author refutes the objections made by *Spon* against the accuracy of *La Guilletiere*; and he adduces, with great force of raillery, several blunders which the former had committed, in history, in chronology, and in geography. During the same year, *Spon* published his answer to *Guillet*, with this title, "*Réponse à la Critique publiée par M. Guillet, sur le Voyage de Grèce de Jacob Spon: avec Quatre Lettres sur le mesme sujet, le Journal d'Angleterre du Sieur Vernon, et la Liste des Erreurs commises par M. Guillet dans son Athènes ancienne et nouvelle.*" *à Lyon*, 1679. 12*mo. pp.* 322. This controversy excited considerable sensation at the time; but

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so little is known o it at present, that, with the exception of the two copies in the valuable Library of Mr. *Hawkins*, there is not, perhaps, another in any collection of *Great Britain*. Although they served to throw considerable light upon the state of *Greece*, when that country had been little visited by modern travellers, no allusion to these two publications has anywhere occurred. Indeed, so entirely unexpected was the communication respecting them, and so great the gratification which the writer of these pages felt in perusing the pleadings of the rival disputants, that it seemed to him as if the two authors had been called from their graves to talk of the travels they had performed near a century and a half ago; or as if he had, in reality, been admitted to a "dialogue in the shades." A few general observations concerning the two publications are, however, all that the limits of this advertisement will allow. It must therefore be sufficient, for the present, briefly to state, that if *Guillet* had the advantage in the first instance, by his successful irony, and by the address he manifested in ridiculing the errors he had detected in *Spon*'s work, the latter finally triumphed, by his greater learning and more judicious criticism. He has made out a list of one hundred and twelve errors, which

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he pretended to have discovered in *La Guilletiere's Athens:* but many of these hardly deserve the name of *errors*; they are such as may be found in any book of travels, especially in his own; and in one instance his charge against *La Guilletiere* is founded upon an *untruth*, for he affirms that there are no remains of a graduated *Coilon* in the *Stadium* at *Athens:* "*Il n'y reste*," says he[1], "*pourtant, que la situation du lieu et quelques restes des doubles murailles, mais point de degrés.*" The principal charge brought against *Guilletiere*, respects his *autopsy*; but this charge is by no means satisfactorily supported. Another relates to his having maintained that an inscription Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ existed in the *Parthenon;* yet, for the existence of this inscription in the year 1669, *La Guilletiere* adduces[2] the testimonies of *four* persons; namely, *Barnaby* and *Simon*, two Capuchins, who resided long at *Athens;* and Monsieur *De Monceaux* and Monsieur *L'Ainé*, "*qui lûrent plusieurs fois la mesme inscription.*" *Spon* did not arrive in *Athens* until the year 1676; and his antagonist, mentioning this circumstance, says[3],

(1) Réponse à la Critique du Voyage de *Grèce*, p. 316. *à Lyon*, 1679.

(2) Dissertation sur une Voyage de *Grèce*, p. 128. *Paris*, 1679.

(3) Ibid. p. 130.

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" *Dans un intervalle de six à sept ans, l'inscription peut-elle pas estre détachée, ou par un scrupule des Turcs, ou par l'injure du temps. Je luy citerois encore vingt changemens plus considérables dans la masse de nos Bâtimens de Paris. Falloit-il pour cela donner le titre d'Imposteur à La Guilletiere?* At this distance of time, being appealed to for the probability of the existence of such an *inscription*, any impartial traveller, who has witnessed the frequent instances of forgeries exhibited under the name of *reliques* by the Eastern *Christians*, would surely say it was highly probable that the Monks of *Athens*, who made use of the *Parthenon* as a *Church*, before it became a *Mosque*, had left a legend of this nature in the temple; which they had been accustomed to exhibit as the real *inscription* observed by *St. Paul*. It was exactly the sort of imposition which would have been characteristic of the priests of that age and country, and of their ignorant followers: and such, perhaps, was the *inscription* read by *Guilletiere* and his companions; but which had disappeared when *Spon* was at *Athens*, having been removed by some traveller, or destroyed by the *Turks*. The most curious part of *Spon*'s answer to *Guillet*, is that in which he undertakes to prove that the famous *Eleusinian fragment* was in reality the *Statue of Eleusinian Ceres*, and not one

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of the *Cariatides*, as *Guillet* maintained that it was[1]. Here he musters all his erudition, and quite overwhelms his antagonist; and had the author of the present work been aware of the powerful authority upon which this point rested, when he published his "*Testimonies concerning the Statue of Ceres*," he would never have ventured to undertake the discussion. It is, however, highly satisfactory to him to find, after so many years have elapsed since he ushered his little treatise before the public, that all he has said upon the subject is supported by the superior judgment of so great a scholar; with whose judgment the opinions of posterity will hereafter probably coincide.

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(1) "J'ay quelque chose à débiter de plus curieux touchant la réflexion d'architecture que fait M. *Guillet* sur une *statue de Ceres* que j'ay décrite et que je donne en taille-douce, lorsque je parle des mazures d'*Eleusis*. A l'entendre parler, j'y ay commis une effroyable faute, ayant pris pour une *statue* ce qui est une *Cariatide*. Voyons si ce *nouveau Vitruve* ne se trompe point luy-mesme, et si j'en dois moins croire à mes yeux qu'à ses raisonnemens." *Réponse à la Critique du Voyage de Grèce*, *p.* 137. *à Lyon*, 1679.

CAMBRIDGE,
September 2, 1816.

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PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF PART THE SECOND.

THIS addition to the SECOND PART of these Travels, will enable the Reader to form a tolerable estimate of the probable compass of the entire Work: and it may serve to prove, that the author, if he should live to complete his undertaking, will not have exceeded his original estimate, in the account of a journey through forty-five degrees of longitude, and nearly forty degrees of latitude. In his endeavour to concentrate the subject, he may have omitted observations which a particular class of Readers would have preferred to those which have been inserted. He has sometimes, for example, sacrificed statistical notices, that he might introduce historical information, where Antient History is pre-eminently interesting; and again, on the other hand, he has purposely omitted much that he had written on the subject of Antiquities, that he might insert a few remarks upon the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* scenery, and upon the

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manners of the people. General observations, as applied to the inhabitants of *Greece*, cannot well be made: it would be a vain undertaking to characterize in one view such a various population. Throughout every part of the country, there may be observed, not only a difference of morals and of habits, but also peculiarities of religion and of language. In the mixed society of one island, the *Italian* character seems to predominate; in another, *Turks* or *Albanians* have introduced their distinctions of manners and customs. Perhaps this may be one of the causes which, added to the fine climate of the country, and to its diversified landscape, communicate such a high degree of cheerfulness during a journey or a voyage in *Greece:* for whether the traveller be upon its continent, or visiting its islands, a succession of new objects is continually presenting itself[1]; and in places which are contiguous in situation, he may witness a more striking change, both as to natural and to moral objects, than would be found in other countries, for example in *Russia*, if he were to traverse a very considerable portion of the globe. After all, an author, in the

(1) "Where'er we tread, 'tis haunted, holy ground,
And one vast realm of wonder spreads around."
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, p. 105. *Lond.* 1805.

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arrangement of his materials, cannot be supposed capable of making any exact calculation, as to what his Readers may deem it proper for him to omit, or to insert: but so far as experience has enabled the writer of these Travels to determine, he has endeavoured to obviate former objections; first, by disposing into the form of *Notes* all extraneous matter, and all citations; and secondly, by compressing even these, as much as possible, both by diminishing the size of the type, and by the omission of *Latin* interpretations of *Greek* authors, which are often erroneous. With regard, however, to the numerous additions made to his Work in the form of *Notes*, it may be proper to state, once for all, that they are exclusively his own, with the exception of the extracts made from the *Manuscript Journals* of his Friends: and when these occur, the name of the traveller has always been added, to whom the author is indebted for the passage inserted. He has been induced to mention this circumstance, that no person may be made responsible for any of those errors and imperfections which belong solely to himself.

In addition to the *Manuscript Journal* of Mr. WALPOLE, this part of the Work will be found

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to contain also a few Extracts made from the posthumous Papers of the late Lieutenant-colonel JOHN SQUIRE, of the corps of Royal Engineers; who met with a melancholy fate, in the service of his country, at *Truxillo* in *Spain*, in the thirty-third year of his age. The death of COLONEL SQUIRE was owing to a fever occasioned by excessive fatigue at the siege of *Badajoz*. Never was the loss of any officer more deeply and sincerely lamented by his friends and fellow-soldiers. To be employed in fighting the battles of his country was his ruling passion; and in fighting them he had been nobly engaged for the last thirteen years of his life. During that space of time, he served on the several expeditions to the *Helder*, to *Egypt*, to *South America*, to *Sweden*, under Sir *J. Moore*, to *Portugal* and *Spain*, under the same general, to *Zealand*, and a second time to the *Spanish Peninsula*, where he terminated his honourable career. The active mind of Colonel *Squire* did not content itself with the acquirements proper to his profession only, but was impelled by a large and liberal curiosity to obtain every sort of useful or of interesting knowledge. In all the countries which he visited, he kept a full and accurate journal, not only of military affairs, but of every thing else either curious or

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important. It is to Colonel *Squire* that the literary world owes the discovery of the Inscription upon the pedestal of *Pompey's Pillar*, near *Alexandria*, which had eluded the ingenuity of all former travellers.

The *Catalogue* of the *Patmos Library*, communicated by the MARQUIS of SLIGO; and the Remarks made by Mr. WALPOLE, not only upon this Catalogue[1], but also upon the *Libraries of Greece*; will, it is hoped, be considered as valuable additions to this Work. The author is desirous also to mention his obligation to the last of these Gentlemen, for the assistance he has rendered in the illustration of many of the *Inscriptions*. Nor can he pass in silence the advantages he has derived from the *Manuscript Journal* of his friend and companion, Mr. CRIPPS; particularly in that part of his Travels which relates to EGYPT; where the continuation

(1) The original copy is written in the form usually adopted by the *Modern Greeks* in their *cursive* style; abounding in contractions, and containing many orthographical errors. If the Reader only direct his attention to the title of one *Manuscript* therein mentioned, namely, that of *Diodorus Siculus*, he will be convinced of the importance of making further inquiry into the state of the *Patmos* Library; such, for example, as the *French* Nation caused to be instituted, when they despatched the celebrated Hellenist, *Villoison*, to the Monasteries of *Mount Athos*.

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of his own narrative was often interrupted by fatigue or by illness.

A more accurate representation of the appearance of antient *Inscriptions* upon *Greek Marbles*, than had appeared in former books of travels, it is presumed has been adopted. For this purpose, a new species of type was invented by the author, and used in former publications. It has already received the approbation of literary men; the Society of Antiquaries having applied to the University of *Cambridge* for the loan of these types, when engaged in publishing the late Professor *Porson*'s restoration of the celebrated *Rosetta* Inscription. Considerable attention has also been paid towards making improvement in the Plates: and a new mode of representing *Hieroglyphics* will be found in the *Fac-Simile* of a Tablet discovered among the Ruins of *Saïs*[1].

It may, perhaps, be deemed a bold acknowledgment to confess, that the account of *Heliopolis*, and of the *Memphian Pyramids*, was written without consulting a single page of *Jacob Bryant*'s "Observations upon the Antient His-

(1) See the Quarto Edition.

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tory of *Egypt*." The author has, however, since bestowed all the attention he could command, upon that learned Work; and the perusal of it has made known to him the source of *Larcher*'s opinion concerning a *Pseudo-Heliopolis* in *Arabia*, together with his reasons for placing the renowned city of that name in the *Delta*, although the *French* writer did not acknowledge whence they were derived. Now the whole of *Larcher*'s pretended discovery, and of *Bryant*'s most elaborate dissertation, may be reduced to a single query; namely, Whether we be at liberty to alter the received text of an antient author, in such a manner, as to transpose the names of two *Nomes*[2]? If we be not allowed this freedom, the opinions thereby deduced have no weight. After all the labour bestowed upon the subject, the truth must rest upon the examination of a few brief extracts from *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, as compared with the modern geography and existing antiquities of *Egypt*, with which *Bryant* was but little acquainted. It will always be urged, to use his own words[3], that "*Strabo* was

(2) *Heliopolites* and *Latopolites*.

(3) *Observations upon Antient History*, *p.* 120. *Lond.* 1767. *So also*, *p.* 123 (Note). "*Strabo*'s authority must be valid: he was an eye-witness of what he speaks of; and seems to have been very inquisitive and exact." *Strabo* does, however, sometimes describe countries

upon the spot, and very inquisitive, and very minute and diligent in his description;" and that "we cannot suppose him to have been grossly mistaken." *Bryant* believed that the whole space between the *Pelusiac* branch of the *Nile* and the *Red Sea* was such a sandy waste, that the *Israelites* never could have inhabited it: although he confesses that "the *Jews*, who, during the Captivity, betook themselves to this country, thought it no despicable spot to settle in:" and although the present cities of *Old* and *New Caïro*, by their situation, prove that this district has now the preference, he asserts that there were "no *Nomes*, nor places of any repute," in that part of *Egypt*[1]. "When they were occupied," says he[2], "it was chiefly by foreigners, who obtained leave of the princes of *Egypt* to take up their habitation within them." Wherefore it should appear that the presumed allotment of this territory to the *Israelites* would be strictly consistent with the antient usages of the country.

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countries of which he was ignorant, from the reports and writings of others; as in the account he gives of *Argolis* in *Peloponnesus*, where he acknowledges this, and proves his want of information, by affirming that there existed in his time no remains of the city of *Mycenæ*.

(1) See Observations, &c. p. 109.

(2) Ibid. p. 107.

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CHAP. IV.

P. 135.

HELIOPOLIS, AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DJIZA.

Passage along the Canal—Visit to HELIOPOLIS—*Matarèa—Pillar of* ON—*Style of the Hieroglyphics—Intelligence concerning them—their Archetypes*—Crux Ansata—*its meaning explained—Of the* Hieralpha *and the* Testudo—*Other Symbols*—Kircher—*History of the Obelisk—Minerals of the* Arabian *Desert—Doubtful origin of* Egyptian Jasper—*Petrifactions—Dates and Corn*—ALMEHS—*Of the Alleluia, and cry of lamentation—Voyage to the* PYRAMIDS—*Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid—Objects seen from the summit—Nature of the Limestone used in its construction—Extraneous Fossil described by* Strabo—*Mortar—Labours of the* French *Army—Theft committed by an* Arab—*Visit to the Interior of the larger Pyramid—Notions entertained of its violation—its passages—Observation at the* Well—*Examination of some inferior Channels—Chamber of the Sepulchre*—The SOROS—*its demolition attempted*—The SPHINX—*its surface found to be painted—Discovery of an Antient Inscription—Custom of painting antient Statues—Extract from* Pauw.

CHAP. V.

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PYRAMIDS OF SACCARA.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids—Audience of the Vizier—Voyage to Saccára—*Nocturnal Festivities of an* Arab *Village—Appearance of the Country to the South of* Caïro—Indigofera—*Situation of* Memphis—Tumulus *seen among the Pyramids—The most antient Sepulchres not*

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pyramidal—Village of Saccára—*Difference between the Pyramids of* Saccára *and those of* Djïza—*Descent into the Catacombs—Notion founded on a Passage in* Herodotus—*Evidence for the Horizontal Position of the Bodies—Difficulty of ascertaining the truth—Repository of Embalmed Birds— Cause of their Interment —Hieroglyphic Tablet—Antelope—Antiquities found by the* Arabs—*Horses of the Country—Theft detected—History of the Pyramids—Manner of the Investigation—Age of those Structures—their Sepulchral Origin—Possible Cause of the Violation of the principal Pyramid — Historical Evidence concerning the building of Pyramids in* Egypt — *Further views of the subject—Hermetic Stélæ—*Mexican *Pyramids.*

CHAP. VI.

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GRAND CAIRO TO ROSETTA.

Monastery of the Propagandists—*Marriage Procession—Visit to the* Reis Effendi—*First Intelligence concerning the* Alexandrian Soros — *Preparation for Departure —Arrival of the Covering for the* Caaba *at* Mecca—*Escape of Four Ladies—Passage down the* Nile—*Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River—Remains of the City of* Saïs —*Antiquities—Bronze Relics — Aratriform Sceptre of the Priests and Kings of* Egypt — *Hieroglyphic Tablet— Enumeration of the Archetypes — Curious Torso of an antient Statue—Triple Hierogram with the Symbol of the* Cross—*its meaning explained* — Mahallet Abouali—Berinbal —*Ovens for hatching Chickens—Tombs at* Massora Shibrecki —*Birds —Arrival at* Rosetta —*Mr.* Hammer *sails for* England — *State of* Rosetta *at this season of the year.*

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CHAP. VII.

P. 323.

ROSETTA TO ALEXANDRIA.

Voyage to Aboukir—*Visit to Lord* Keith—*Journey to* Alexandria—*Arrival at the* British *Camp—Communication with Lord* Hutchinson — *Entrance into the* French *Garrison—Wretched state of the Inhabitants — Visit from a party of Merchants — Discovery of the* Tomb of Alexander — *Circumstances of its removal by the* French—*Its situation upon the Author's arrival—Internal evidence of its authenticity —Other antiquities collected by the* French — Cleopatra's Needles—Pompey's Pillar — *Discovery of the Inscription— Sepulchral origin of the Column—Manner of its support— Proof that it was erected by the* Romans — *Restoration of the legend upon the pedestal—Events that occurred after the death of* Pompey—*Shrine constructed by* Cæsar—*Testimony of the* Arabian *Historians* — Hadrian's *monument to his horse—Traditionary name of the Pillar founded on historical evidence—Interview with* Menou—*Surrender of the* Rosetta Tablet—*Intercourse between the armies*—French *Institute— Catacombs of* Necropolis—Serapeum *of* Racotis—*Of* Hades *and of* Ammon — *Cause of such elaborate sepulchres— Descent into the* Cryptæ — *Remarkable Symbol — Imperfect accounts of the* Alexandrian *Antiquities — Conduct of the Capudan* Pasha.

CHAP. VIII.

P. 404.

ALEXANDRIA TO COS.

Preparations for leaving Egypt — *Journey to* Aboukir—*Cities of* Nicopolis, Taposiris Parva, *and* Conopus —*Uncertainty of their Topography*—Thonis — *Changes which have taken*

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place upon the Coast—Heraclium—Aboukir *Bay*—Turkish *Frigate — Persons composing her Crew — Discipline at Sea — Bay of* Finica — *Meteoric Phænomena — Eastern Coast of* Rhodes — Lindus—*Southern Shores of* Asia Minor—*Bay of* Marmora—Rhodes—Cos—*Town of* Stanchio—*Situation of the* French *Consul—Antient Sculpture — Inscriptions—* Asclepiéum — *Votive Offerings — Singular article of the* Mohammedan *Law — Population, commerce, and produce of* Cos.

APPENDIX, No. I.

P. 453.

On the Discovery, by Colonel CAPPER, *of the Existence of Antient* Pagan *Superstitions in* Mount Libanus, *particularly those which relate to the Worship of* Venus.

No. II.

P. 470.

Passport granted to Messrs. CLARKE *and* CRIPPS, *to pass and repass the Outer Gate of* Alexandria, *to and from the* British *Camp.*

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The positions of *Heliopolis*, and of the places near to that city, in *Arabia*, are by no means doubtful; since they are always mentioned together, and in the clearest manner, by *Herodotus*, by *Strabo*, by *Josephus*, by *Ptolemy*, and by *Antoninus*, in his Itinerary. *Cellarius* places *Phacusa*, *Bubastus*, and *Heliopolis*, in ARABIA; upon the authority of PTOLEMY. *Bryant* censures him for so doing; and knowing nothing of the rich borders of *Arabia*, accuses him[3] of stationing provinces "*in the deserts.*" The authority of *Cellarius* ought not to be superseded by the mere opinion even of such a scholar as *Bryant;* especially if opinion be unsupported by matter of fact: and in this instance, the principle of the "*m* [illegible] *errare*" is very admissible. The evidences for the position of *Heliopolis*, as deduced from *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, are as follow.

"To one going upwards from *Heliopolis*," says *Herodotus*[4], "EGYPT is narrow, owing to the

(3) See Observations, p. 112. Note 7.

(4) Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, στενὴ ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέτακται, κ. τ. λ. ἐν τῷ καὶ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι, αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. *Herodoti Euterpe*, c. viii. *pp.* 92, 93. *Lond.* 1679.

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Mountain of *Arabia*. In this mountain are the quarries whence the stones were taken for building the *Pyramids* of MEMPHIS." The mountain, mentioned by *Herodotus* in this passage, is evidently *Mokatam:* and *Letopolis*, *Latopolis*, or *Litopolis*, which *Bryant* thinks[1] derived its name from those quarries (q. d. ΛΙΘΟΠΟΛΙΣ), being near to it, is mentioned with *Heliopolis* by other writers. We may now consider the circumstances of association under which *Heliopolis* is noticed by *Strabo*[2]:—" These places (*Phacusa* and *Phithom*) are near to the vertex of the *Delta:* there is the city of *Bubastus* and the *Bubastic Nome;* and beyond this[3] the *Nome of Heliopolis*, where the *City of the Sun* is situate." After describing the temple and the antiquities of the city, he continues by giving a description of the *Nile* beyond the *Delta;* speaking of *Libya* as being upon his *right*, and *Arabia* upon his *left*. Then he adds this remarkable observation: " Wherefore the *Heliopolitan Nome* is in *Arabia*." After this, he introduces the *Lito-*

(1) See Observ. upon Ant. Hist. p. 123. Note 5. *Lond.* 1767.

(2) Οὗτοι δ' οἱ τόποι πλησιάζουσι τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Δίλτα. Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ Βουβαστὶς πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βουβαστίτης νομός· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός. Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου πόλις, κ. τ. λ. *Strabon.* Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1141. edit. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) Ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Sic MS. *Par.* Med. iv. Vid. p. 1141. ed. *Oxon.*

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politan Nome and the *Babylonian fortress*, as next in succession to the *Heliopolitan* upon the *Arabian side* of the river.

This position of the *Nomes* in Lower *Egypt* is equally authorised by *Ptolemy*. He enumerates them as they occurred from *north* to *south*[4], after *Strabo*'s method of description; giving them in this order;—"the *Bubastic Nome*, and its metropolis BUBASTUS: the *Heliopolitan Nome*, and its metropolis HELIOPOLIS." These, together with *Aphroditopolis*, he places in *Arabia*[5].

The same position is assigned to them by the Itinerary of *Antoninus*:

IN ARABIA.

Aphroditopolis.
Scenas Mandras . . M.P. XX.
Babylon . . . . . M.P. XII.
Heliu . . . . . M.P. XII.

Other evidence to the same effect, if necessary, may be deduced from *Diodorus Siculus*, and from *Josephus*.

---

(4) Vid. *Ptolem.* Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. *Paris*, 1546.

(5) Ἐν μεσογείᾳ Ἀραβίας καὶ
Ἀφροδιτοπόλιτες, Βαβυλὼν,
Ἡλιούπολις. *Ptolem.* Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. *Paris*, 1546.

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In the observations upon *Alexandria*, some additional remarks will be found concerning the *Soros of Alexander the Great*, so fortunately added to the trophies of our victories in EGYPT, in the very moment when it was clandestinely conveying to *Paris*. Since the original publication of the *Testimonies* respecting this most interesting monument, the Editors of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* have considered the evidence as decisive; and have, by means of their valuable work, given it a passport to the notice of posterity, which the writings of the author were little likely to afford. Occasionally, indeed, it has been urged, that some unknown personage, belonging to the *British Museum*, does not concur in the opinion thus maintained concerning this remarkable relic. The author has been sometimes asked, Why it is not called the *Soros of Alexander*, in the Catalogue of Antiquities put into the hands of strangers who visit that stately repository? How shall he venture to answer so formidable an interrogation? May he not also propose another, equally redoubtable? it is this: Why has even the historical evidence, touching its discovery, been so unaccountably omitted? Wherefore has the circumstance been withheld from notice, that the *Arabs* held it in traditionary veneration, as the TOMB OF ALEXANDER?

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The reason why it has not received the appellation of a *Soros* is easily explained. The meaning of this word had never been duly understood[1], when the *Tomb* arrived in *England*; although this be precisely the name given by *Herodian* to the *conditory* of *Alexander*'s body; neither had it then been heeded, that what *Herodian* termed a Soros, *Juvenal*, according to a custom of the *Romans*, mentioned by *Augustinus*[2], had himself alluded to under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*[3]: nay, so remarkable was the ignorance of a few persons who opposed the opinion now entertained of this *Soros*, that because it had, at a later period, served as a *cistern* in *Egypt*, they doubted its original *sepulchral use*; and some even ventured to deny, in direct contradiction of all history, that *Alexander* was buried in *Alexandria*[4]. When the Catalogue appeared, in which the Antiquities are enumerated, finding that it had not been deemed

(1) This can only be disproved by shewing that in some publication dated anterior to 1805 this word had its real signification.

(2) "Quia enim arca in quâ mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam Σαρκοφάγον vocant, Σαρξ dicitur Græcè." *Augustin.* de Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

(3) "*Sarcophago* contentus erit."—— *Juvenal.*

(4) For the removal of the body from *Memphis* to *Alexandria*, see *Quintus Curtius, Pausanias*, &c. &c. Καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παρὸν οὗτος ἐς καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος. *Pausan. Attica, c.* vii. *p.* 17. edit. *Kuhnii. Lips.* 1696.

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advisable to state any particulars, even regarding the modern history of the *Alexandrian Soros*, and that the remarkable fact of its being considered by the *Arabs* as the *Tomb of the Founder of their City* had been *suppressed*, the author wrote to request, that a few copies of a *Letter* he had addressed to the Gentlemen of the *British Museum* upon the subject, might be distributed *gratis* by the porter at the door: but he was answered, that this would not be approved. The question may therefore now rest,—and, as it is humbly conceived, not on the test of *authority*, but of *evidence*. If mere authority could have any weight, the author might safely adduce the opinions which have fallen, not from obscure individuals, but from illustrious and renowned men; from a PORSON, and a PARR, and a ZOUCH[1]; from scholars of the highest

(1) Dr. *Zouch*'s opinion upon this subject occurs in a Letter written by the present Earl of *Lonsdale* to the Rev. *J. Satterthwaite*, of *Jesus College, Cambridge*, Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty; who communicated it to the author. Although the testimony of such a scholar as Dr. *Zouch* (with whom the author had no personal acquaintance) be highly flattering, yet it is hoped that the insertion of it may be pardoned; as it alludes to a fact of some importance in the evidence concerning *Alexander's Tomb;* namely, the remarkable allusion made to the *Soros* by JUVENAL (who himself visited *Egypt*), under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*.

Lord *Lonsdale*'s Letter is as follows: it was dated

My Dear Sir, "*Cottesmere, Jan.* 16, 1806.

"As Dr. *Zouch*'s opinion of Dr. *Clarke*'s history of the *Tomb of Alexander* may not be unacceptable to you, I send you the following Extract from a Letter I received from him a few days ago."

'I have

eminence both at home and abroad; who have approved his testimony, and have aided and encouraged him in making it public. It is upon the *evidence* alone that this question can be decided; and this is so simple, and so conclusive, that it is open to every apprehension. It merely amounts to this: Whether the *Cistern* held sacred by the *Arabs* as the *conditory* of *Alexander*, be, or be not, the *sort of receptacle* which Historians teach us to believe did contain his body. Any one who had read even such a compilation as '*Purchas his Pilgrims*,' and had therein found it stated, probably from *Leo Africanus*, that in *Alexandria* there "*yet remaineth a little Chappell, wherein they say that the high Prophet, and King Alexander the Great lies buried*," would surely have been curious to inquire what was really exhibited by the *Arabs* as the *Tomb* of the founder of their city: and if, during its examination, this turn out to be

. . . . . .

'I have been much gratified with reading a history of the Tomb of *Alexander* by Dr. *Clarke*, of *Jesus College*, *Cambridge*. Indeed, I scarcely laid down the volume until I had gone through it. *He seems to have proved his point*; at least to have rendered it highly probable, that the precious monument deposited in the *British Museum* is what he thinks it to be. I cannot but believe that *Juvenal* expressly alludes to this splendid *Tomb*, in which the remains of the *Macedonian* Hero were interred:

'Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem
Sarcophago contentus erit.'—

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nothing of *Arabian* workmanship, but, in reality, the particular kind of *Tomb* which Historians have actually ascribed to ALEXANDER,—a *Soros*, as it is mentioned by *Herodian*[1], covered with *hieroglyphics;* being, therefore, an *inscription* in the *sacred writing*[2] of the *Priests*, by whom it had been more antiently guarded and revered;—if this prove to be the case, it will be found a very difficult matter to prevent the public from identifying such a relic, however unsuitable the consequence may be, to the views and feelings of any private individual, or set of individuals, belonging to the *British Museum*. Powerful evidence bears down all opposition;—it asks not for *opinion;* it demands *assent*.

It has indeed been urged, that other *conditories* of the same kind were found in *Alexandria;* one of a similar description being now placed with the *Alexandrian Soros* in the *British Museum:* but this is *not true:* and even if it were, no other can lay claim to the tradition which so remarkably distinguished this. The other antiquities alluded to, came from *Caïro*, and from *Upper Egypt:* that, in particular, now

(1) In describing the visit paid to it by *Caracalla*, who placed upon it his purple vest;—ἐνέδυσε τῇ ἱματίου ΣΟΡΩΙ. *Vid. Herodian. Hist. lib.* iv. *Hist. Rom. Script. ap. H. Steph.* 1568.

(2) Τῶν τα ἱερῶν γράμματων. See the Inscription on the *Rosetta Stone*.

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placed by the side of this, is the well-known *Cistern* which was formerly called the "*Lover's Fountain*," and stood near to the Castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in *Grand Cairo*[3]. Other remains of the same nature, less perfectly preserved, came from *Upper Egypt*; whence they were brought by the *French* to *Alexandria*.

It had been somewhat loosely affirmed, that the *Egyptians* always buried their dead in an upright posture: and the author, noticing this egregious error in his "Testimonies concerning *Alexander's Tomb*," maintained that the opinion could neither be reconciled with the appearance of the *Tombs* of the Kings of *Thebes*, nor with the evidence afforded by the principal *Pyramid* at MEMPHIS[4]. Since that publication appeared, Mr. *Hamilton* has incontestably proved that the affirmation was *loose indeed*, for that the *Egyptians never* buried their dead in an upright posture[5]. A writer, however, in one of the Monthly

(3) See a correct representation of it, as engraved in *Bowyer's* Work, entitled *Sir Robert Ainslie's Collection of Views in Egypt, &c. from Drawings by Luigi Mayer.*

(4) Tomb of *Alexander*. Introd. p. 7. *Camb.* 1805.

(5) See p. 227, Note (7), of this Volume. See also *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p.* 317. *Lond.* 1809. "It was evident," says Mr. *Hamilton*, "that the bodies had been placed *horizontally*, not *upright*: consequently the passage of *Silius Italicus*, quoted to assist the contrary

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Journals[1], attacked the author for having disputed, although upon his own ocular demonstration, the *upright* position of the bodies. "Surely," said he, "it will surprise the reader, to learn, that one of the principal writers by whom the fact above alluded to has so *loosely been affirmed*, was *Herodotus*." It might, indeed, surprise any reader, if this were true: but the assertion is groundless, and altogether founded upon the most glaring misconception of the text of that author; as it is not only admitted by every scholar, but decidedly manifested by the appearance of the bodies in the *sepulchres* of Egypt. *Herodotus* does not say that they were placed upright *in the tombs*, but in the *private houses* of the *Egyptians*[2], after the persons employed to embalm the body had delivered it into the care of the relatives. It is well known that the *Egyptians* frequently kept the bodies of their dead, after the funeral rites were performed, for a long time, in this manner in their dwellings. Sometimes they made them to be

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contrary supposition, must have alluded to the posture in which the deceased were kept, while yet retained in the houses of their relations." The same is maintained by Pauw: *Philos. Diss. vol.* II. *p.*39. *Lond.* 1795.

(1) See the *Critical Review* for *July* 1805. vol. V. No. 3. p. 276.

(2) See *Pauw*, Philos. Dissert. vol. II. p. 39. *Lond.* 1795.

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present at their feasts[3]. And hence it is, that *Herodotus*, alluding to this practice, says, the relations take the body home, and place it in a chamber appropriated for its reception, "*setting it upright against the wall*[4]." Upon these last words, the absurd notion was founded of its *upright position in the sepulchres of the country*; a notion entirely exploded, and contradicted by the evidence of the sepulchres themselves.

Upon reviewing the observations made upon the *Grecian Theatres*, the author is aware that they might have been more collectively disposed, instead of being dispersed in different parts of his Work: but the business of a traveller requires, that he should register *facts*, rather than write *dissertations*: if his remarks be deemed worth preserving, others will not be wanted, hereafter, to collect the scattered materials, and give them a more connected form.

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(3) ——"Et à mensis exsanguem haud separat umbram." *Sil. Ital. lib.* xiii.

(4) Ἰστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. *Herodot.* Hist. lib. ii. c. 86. p. 190. *Lond.* 1679.

Cambridge, May 24th, 1814.

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LIST

OF

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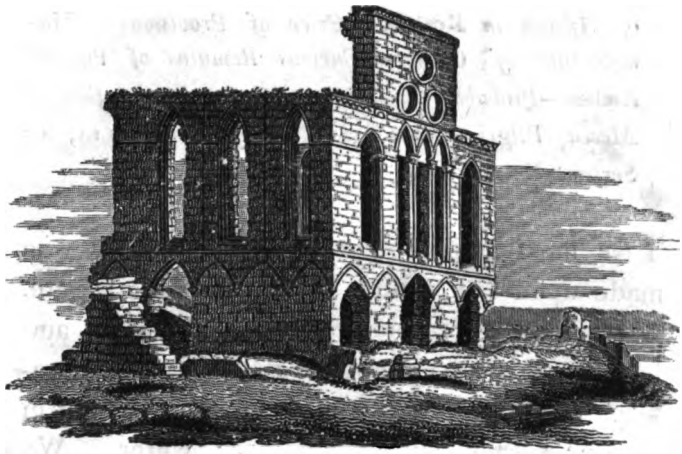

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CHAP. I.

The *Romulus* makes preparation for sailing.

THE most active preparation for sailing was made upon our return to the *Romulus* frigate. Upwards of sixty bullocks were on board, and forty more were afterwards added to the number. Every exertion was then made to get in the necessary supply of fresh water. We bought great part of the freight of melons from the *Jaffa* boat, to carry to the fleet off *Aboukir*; and a more acceptable donation can hardly be imagined, for almost all its supplies came from *England:* fruit and vegetables were particularly scarce.

The Author takes leave of *Djezzar.*

In our last visit to old *Djezzar*, we found his health visibly on the decline; but there was nothing he seemed more anxious to conceal from the knowledge of his subjects. The well-known fable of the dying lion was constantly present to his imagination; and no one better understood its moral application. Like the generality of antient fables, it is, in fact, strikingly applicable to the policy and manners

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of *Eastern* nations[1]. Although the repose and stillness of his charem were better suited to the preservation of his life than the public duties of his palace, he knew too well the consequences of a rumour purporting his inability to transact the affairs of his government, and therefore more readily granted audience to persons requesting admission to his presence; continuing his usual practice of cutting watch-papers, but being less ostentatious of his bodily vigour, and the exhibition of his Herculean strength[2]. We found him, as before, with his feet bare, and a bottle of water by his side; but a more than ordinary covering of turbans appeared about his head and neck. Having thanked him for the many obligations he had conferred upon us, he inquired concerning our late journey, and seemed to possess great knowledge of the country, as well as some degree of information respecting its antient history. Adverting to the dispute which took place between the Author and one of the escort, in the Plain of *Esdraelon*, (of which he had been informed,) he cautioned us against the imprudence

(1) In the time of *Aristophanes* there were three kinds of fables; the *Libyan*, which was the most antient, the *Syberitic*, and the *Æsopian*.

(2) See p. 84 of Volume IV. 8vo. edit.

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CHAP. I.

of striking an *Arab*, unless with power to put him instantly to death; adding, "If you had been anywhere but in *Djezzar*'s dominions, and under his protection, you would not have lived to tell the story. I know the inhabitants of this country better than any man, and have long found that they are not to be governed by halves. I have been deemed severe; but I trust you have found my name respected, and even beloved, notwithstanding my severity." This last observation was strictly true; for, in spite of all his cruelty, such was the veneration in which they held the name of *Djezzar* in the *Holy Land*, that many of the *Arabs* would have sacrificed their lives for him. As we were about to take leave, he acknowledged, for the first time, that he did not feel himself well, and complained of want of sleep; asking us if we perceived any change in his health. His Interpreter told us that he had never before known an instance of a similar confession; and augured, from this circumstance, that he would not long survive it; which proved to be true, although his death did not immediately follow[1]. His last moments

(1) He was afterwards visited by Colonel *Squire*, in company with Major *Leake* of the Artillery, and Mr. *Hamilton*. The last of these gentlemen, it seems, as Private Secretary of the Earl of *Elgin*, had some diplomatic arrangements to make with *Djezzar*, and wished to gain

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were characteristic of his former life. The person whom he fixed upon for his successor was CHAP. I.

gain information with respect to the commerce and condition of *Syria*. These circumstances are related in Colonel *Squire's MS. Journal*, from which the following is an Extract.—The party sailed from *Alexandria*, on *Monday*, *April* the 5th, 1802; and came to anchor off the town of *Caiffa* on the morning of *April* the 9th.

"At noon (*April* 9th) we went on shore, and endeavoured to see the *Sheik* (*Governor*) of *Caiffa*. At this moment we could not see him; for the day (*Friday*) being the *Mohammedan* Sabbath, he was engaged at the Mosque. In the interval, we proposed to make a small tour without the town; but we were told that the gates were then shut, and that they would not be opened until the prayers at the Mosque were ended: this, as it appears, is a custom in many parts of the *East*; for they fear that while the *Mussulmen* are engaged in the duties of their religion, the *Christians* may enter secretly, and take the place by surprise:—indeed, they have a tradition to this effect. After the noon-prayer was concluded, we had an audience of the *Sheik*, in a miserable smoked chamber; the key of which, after a great search and inquiry, was with some difficulty procured. He regaled us with coffee; and as there was only one extra pipe for the accommodation of his guests, it was passed from one person to another; and we smoked alternately. During our conference, an unfortunate *swallow*, which had taken up its abode in the *Sheik*'s mansion, was constantly hovering over our heads*. In the course of conversation, the *Sheik* observed, that he was born near *England*, as he was a native of *Algiers*: he alluded to our fortress of *Gibraltar*; for the *Turks* consider all our foreign possessions as *England*. *Ismael Pasha*, a respectable *Turk*, declared he had been in *England*, because he had once visited *Gibraltar*. After coffee and pipes, we proceeded towards *Mount Carmel*. This mountain, which may perhaps be two hundred feet above the level of the sea, is covered with a variety of shrubs and aromatic plants, which may render the air as wholesome as it is fragrant and agreeable: the ascent was by a slope; and this, although now covered with weeds and brambles, appears to have been, formerly, a regular

* For the universality of the superstition with regard to the *swallow*, the Reader is requested to refer to p. 265, and Note, of Vol. II. of these Travels, 8vo. edition: also to v. 149 of the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, where the same bird is called Διὸς ἄγγελος. See the end of Chap. VII. Vol. IV.

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CHAP. I.

among the number of his prisoners. Having sent for this man, he made known his intentions

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a regular road to the Convent on its summit. In the beginning of the ascent, we observed a sort of grotto excavated in the rock. On the point immediately above the sea, are the remains of a well-built Monastery, which, since the appearance of the *French* in these countries, has been entirely destroyed by the *Turks*. Below this there is a smaller Convent. It is inhabited by a *Turk*, and its church has been converted into a mosque: it is excavated from out of the solid rock; being about fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and twenty feet in height. On our return to *Caiffa*, along the sea-shore, at the foot of the mountain, we observed a range of Catacombs in the rock, which had probably been the burying-place of an antient town in the neighbourhood: on the floor of these Catacombs were cavities for the reception of bodies. Near this place is a tower of masonry, with five embrasures in the lower part, for the defence of the anchorage: at present, no guns are mounted there.

"*Caiffa* itself is a miserable village, close to the sea-side, and opposite to *Acre*: it is of an oblong figure; its longest side, parallel to the sea, being about two hundred yards; and its shortest, one hundred and fifty yards in length. It is completely inclosed by a stone wall about fifteen feet high, with square towers at the angles. On a small eminence immediately above the town, and completely commanding it, is a square tower, which, as well as the towers of *Caiffa* itself, has been dismantled of its guns by the Pasha of *Acre*, since the arrival of the *French* in *Syria*. From the summit of *Mount Carmel* the view of the Bay of *Caiffa* was picturesque in the extreme. On the opposite side was *Acre*; and beyond, the towering heights of the *Anti-Lebanon*, with a small chain of mountains intervening, which seemed to retire and lose themselves in the interior of the country. Bordering on the bay appeared an extensive plain, with the River *Kishon* meandering through the middle of it. From the roof of the Convent on the summit of *Mount Carmel*, *Acre* bore N. E. by N. distant seven miles; *Mount Saphet*, E. and by N. distant fifteen miles; a town on a projecting point on the coast, S. S. W. distant four miles. *Mount Carmel* consists of hard limestone, varied sometimes by thin strata of flint."

On the 12th of *April*, Colonel *Squire* sailed from *Caiffa* for *Acre*. His Journal then continues.

"Wind E. S. E. light breezes. At half past six A. M. weigh anchor; and

to him; telling him, at the same time, that he would never enjoy a peaceful dominion while

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and at half past seven, bring-to at the entrance of the harbour of ACRE. A boat came from the town, which undertook to bring the vessel into the harbour. Our pilot, it appeared, was a sort of harbour-master, and has constantly twenty men employed for his assistance. As soon as the vessel was moored, the Captain of the port stripped himself, made a dive under the vessel's bottom, and told us there were four feet of water between the keel and the anchoring ground. The man was extremely old; and we were surprised at his activity and attention: however, upon inquiry, he said, that he obeyed the orders of *Djezzar*, who would immediately take off his head should an accident happen to any ships moored in the harbour of *Acre*. After a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by *Djezzar*'s batteries, we landed, with a view to pay our compliments to the Pasha. *Djezzar* was sitting in a small apartment at the farther extremity of a court in the upper floor of the Seraglio. The court was planted with orange and lemon trees, and other shrubs; and one side was occupied by the Charem.

"*Djezzar* received us in a very gracious manner; saying, that he had always loved the *English*, because they were a brave nation; and seemed to insinuate that his friendship was perfectly disinterested; that he was independent of all; that he had plenty of guns and troops of his own; in short, that he was able to defend himself without the assistance of others. When we inquired with respect to the march of the *Vizier* through *Syria*, and his return from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, he replied, 'I know not which way he is gone; they say he 'is now at *Damascus*; he will scarcely leave a beard or mustachio in 'any town that he passes through. When he was at *Cairo*, he 'desired me to send timber for his army: my reply was, *I am not a* 'seller of wood.' So that *Djezzar* fully explained his situation and his politics; continually launching forth in his own praises; at the same time that he abused the Vizier and his creatures. 'The Vizier (*said he*) 'has rich dresses and precious ornaments in abundance; but he 'carries all his wealth on his person. I am a *Bosniac*, a rough unpo-'lished soldier, not accustomed to courts and politeness, but bred in 'camps and in the field. I have no handsome palisse nor fine 'shawls: my troops, however, are well paid, and numerous. I am 'expert (*added he*) in the management of a sabre: with a single 'stroke of my sword, I have cut in two the barrel of a musket.'

"*Djezzar*

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certain of the princes of the country existed. These men were then living as hostages, in

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"*Djezzar* sat in the upper corner of the apartment: close to his hand was a four-barrelled pistol, very richly mounted; behind him were two muskets, a sabre, and an axe; a silver spitting-cup was in his left hand; and in another part of the room, a drinking-mug of wood, made by himself, and always kept in the apartment: the ceiling was ornamented with landscape-painting of his own invention. The *Divan* (the part raised a few inches above the floor) was covered with a thin common carpet; the other part of the chamber with a mat. *Djezzar* leans on a low crutch, placed under his right arm, which he said he had always used instead of the fine downy cushions of the rich and indolent. He was dressed in an old darned pelisse, with blue cloth trowsers, in the *Turkish* style; and a red shawl on his head as a turban. He remarked, that he was sleeping when we fired our salute; that he had been rather unwell; that the report of the guns awoke him, and that the grateful sound had revived him from his indisposition.

"*Djezzar* may be between seventy and eighty years of age: he has lost the greater part of his teeth, has a respectable grey beard, and a prominent nose; and though, when he smiles, he may impose upon one the appearance of good-nature, the ordinary cast of his countenance, with his wrinkled brow, sufficiently denotes his well-known familiarity with conspiracies and assassination. After taking our leave, we visited the fortifications of *Acre*, towards the land, with the Dragoman of *Djezzar*; who pointed out to us the position of the *French* camp, and the different points against which the attack was directed. The camp was in the plain, about two miles south-east from the town, extending itself, from the sea, as far as the remains of a church near the aqueduct which once conveyed water to *Acre*. Part of this building was destroyed by *Buonaparte*: that part which was near the town has been levelled by *Djezzar* since the departure of the *French*, that he might render the defences of his works as open and clear as possible. With the same view he has levelled most of the trees in the neighbourhood." [*N.B. Here Col. Squire enters into a very detailed account of the fortifications of Acre.*]

"The Mosque, built by *Djezzar* about fifteen years ago, has a large dome, and both outside and within is very richly ornamented. We observed

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Djezzar's power. "You will not like to begin your reign," said he, "by slaughtering them; CHAP. I.

observed in the walls large pieces of Verd-antique, and specimens of many different kinds of marble: the ornaments within are light, and painted in very gay colours: the whole building has more the appearance of a fine theatre, than a place for devotion. We were not permitted to ascend the minaret: here it is the office of a blind person to call the people to prayers, that there may be no opportunity from this elevated situation to observe the women in the Pasha's Charem. Before being admitted into the Mosque, we were obliged to purchase thin slippers, and wear them as a mark of respect, leaving our boots at the entrance. The court of the Mosque, in the centre of which is a neat fountain, and a small plantation of palm and cypress trees, is surrounded by a sort of cloister, and small apartments, in which are deposited the books of *Djezzar*. These also serve as lodging-places for the chief people of the law. Under the Mosque is a large reservoir for water; and we were informed, that, at present, a ten years' supply of water for the town is collected in the different cisterns. Without the gate of the Mosque, and opposite to the entrance of the Seraglio, is a handsome fountain, with basons of white marble, and furnished with drinking cups, very convenient for the inhabitants. Since the campaign of the *French* in *Syria*, the fortifications of *Acre* have been repaired, and considerably increased: those which have been added are much more substantial than the old; the masonry, though not finely wrought, is solid and well executed; the stones which compose it are taken from the walls and foundations of the antient *Ptolemais*. The whole of the ramparts are surmounted with a sort of battlement, which *Djezzar* told us was very useful when the enemy mounted to the assault: for these stones, being loosened, were tumbled down upon the *French*, and occasioned very great confusion. When the *French* besieged *Acre*, their attack was directed on the *Bourge Ali*, at the north-east angle; and the besiegers took advantage of irregularities in the ground, of the garden walls, and of a small ravine, and more particularly of the remains of an aqueduct which once conveyed water to *Acre*.—*Djezzar*, profiting by this experience, has entirely levelled the aqueduct near the town, and is determined that, for the future, the enemy shall not have the smallest shelter.

"The Bay of *Acre*, or *Caiffa*, is seven miles in width, and perhaps a league

CHAP. I. I will do that business for you:" accordingly, he ordered them to be brought before him, and

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league and an half in length: the sweep is nearly semicircular: the soundings, in general, ten or eleven fathoms; and the holding-ground near the village *Caiffa*, on the south side, excellent.

"A low sandy ridge, projecting from the south point of the bay, forms a secure roadstead abreast of *Caiffa*, and is always preferred. Two small streams discharge themselves into the Bay of *Acre*: one about a mile east of *Caiffa*, supposed to be the *Kishon* of the Sacred Scripture: the second, called the *River of Acre*, discharges itself into the sea, perhaps a mile and an half from the town. This stream is shallow, inconsiderable, and frequently changes its direction. The beach of the bay does not seem convenient for landing, being much exposed to the westerly winds, flat and shallow, with a continual surf.

"*April* the 18th. Soon after breakfast we visited *Djezzar*, who was very talkative, and showed us several specimens of his ingenuity: he cut out, in our presence, a gun, in paper, with a pair of scissars; told us he was a great adept at this art, and would let us see his performances: these consisted of vases and flowers, very neatly cut, and adorned with different inscriptions from the *Koran*, and had been further decorated by a painter in the town: he also showed us the model of a powder-mill to be worked by horses, of his own invention. When we made him a compliment on the gallant defence of *Acre*, by himself and Sir *Sidney Smith*,—'Ah!' (*replied he*) all events are from 'God. Fate has always favoured *Djezzar*; and confident in my own 'strength and means, I never feared *Buonaparte*. Nor do I care for 'the *Vizier*: when he marched through this part of *Syria*, he did not 'dare to approach *Acre*; for he knew I was well able to receive him.'

"After having taken our leave, we wished to visit the fortifications towards the sea: we were however told, that it would be better to walk without the town; for *Djezzar* could not be responsible for our safety within, as it was the time of a festival (the *Kourban Beiram*, the sacrifice of lambs), during which the soldiers fire their pistols continually (always with ball), and perhaps some accident might befal us. Mr. *Hamilton* returned to *Djezzar*, to make some diplomatic arrangements; while Major *Locke* and myself took a walk on the north side of the fortifications.

"*Djezzar*'s Dragoman (*Bertocini*, a *Genoese*) informed us, that thirteen years ago, on account of a suspected conspiracy between his *Mamaluke*

they were put to death in his presence. Soon afterwards he died; leaving, as he had predicted, CHAP. I.

Mamaluke slaves and his *Georgian* and *Circassian* women, he put them all to death, eleven females, by throwing them alive into a well, and thus leaving them to expire: he also mutilated a vast number of them, by cutting off their noses, who had had the smallest communication with the *Mamalukes*. It is supposed that *Djezzar* has thirteen women in his Charem; their dresses being made in the town, and a billet being sent to the workmen for a dress for such a particular number.

"At four P.M. we re-embark.

"*April* the 14th. After breakfast, we visited *Djezzar*. We brought with us a packet, which we requested him to forward by a courier to *Aleppo*. 'Am I (said he, in a violent rage) the *Suis Baski* (Chief 'of the Couriers)? Your conduct is very extraordinary. The first day 'you visit me as a friend;—you make me no present. You suspected 'my friendship from the first. Instead of coming directly to *Acre*, 'why did you anchor at *Caiffa*?' [We were prevented by the weather, and our pilot's entire ignorance of the harbour.] 'On the 'second visit you desire to see the plans of my fortifications; and 'while the two others go without, and examine my fortifications, you '(*addressing himself to Mr. Hamilton*) remain with me, open the 'object of your mission, and wish me to make peace with the *Druzes*: 'a subject I cannot bear to advert to.' Mr. *Hamilton* attempted an explanation; and told him that the simple subject of his inquiry was, whether Sir *Sidney Smith* had interfered in the affair of the *Druzes*, or not;—that Lord *Elgin* was extremely sorry to have heard a report of that nature;—that the conduct of those persons who had communicated with the enemies of *Djezzar* should be strictly inquired into: and he concluded by observing, that he hoped *Djezzar* would receive an *English* Consul at *Acre*. This, indeed, was the subject of the conversation of yesterday. *Djezzar* had mistaken the whole: like a true tyrant, always filled with jealousy and suspicion, he imagined that we were emissaries from the *English*, and wished to re-establish the affairs of the *Druzes*. He would hearken to no explanation; but entertained suspicions which we saw it would be wholly impossible to erase. The *Emir Bechir* (Prince) of the *Druzes*, who governs the Mountains (of the *Lebanon*) inhabited by this people and the

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CHAP. 1.

the undisturbed possession of a very extensive territory to his successor, *Ismael Pasha*.

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the *Maronites*, is continually at war with *Djezzar*, and he refused the contributions annually levied in the Mountains. *Djezzar* retains two nephews of the *Emir* in his Seraglio, as hostages, in case any act of hostility should be shown by the Prince of the Mountains. When the *French* were before *Acre*, they attempted to bring over the *Druzes* and *Maronites* to their alliance. Sir *Sidney Smith*, gaining intelligence of this, very prudently despatched emissaries to counteract the *French* intrigue in the Mountains; and made ample promises of his friendship and protection to the *Druzes*. This people had always been the declared enemies of *Djezzar;* and the short-sighted policy of the tyrant made him most inveterate against Sir *Sidney* and the *English*, on account of their correspondence in the Mountains.

" 'I can (*added Djezzar*) let the *English* know, that I am as 'powerful in my enmities, as I am faithful and sincere in my friend-'ships. Am I to be dictated to? I, who have held the sword over the 'heads of the *Beys*, shall I lower it, and be humbled by the *English?* 'No! (*exclaimed he,*) I can withstand them all. I will have no com-'munication with the *English*. I will have no Consul of that nation; 'not one of their ships shall come into my harbour; they shall not 'approach within gun-shot of my fortifications.' Mr. *Hamilton* still attempted to explain: and at last, *Djezzar* went so far as to say, that it was not with Sir *Sidney Smith* that he was offended; that it was with a Mr. *Wright*, Lieutenant of the *Tigre*, and the Vice-Consul of *Tripoli*, a *Frenchman*, whom he considered the cause of the breach between him (*Djezzar*) and Sir *Sidney*. 'Mr. *Wright* (*continued he*) 'and the other had been to visit the Chiefs of the *Druzes;* had made 'arrangements with them, and had even returned with some of the 'Princes to *Acre;* and Sir *Sidney* ought certainly to have prevented 'this communication: however (*said he*) I am not offended with him.' In short, in his extreme anger, he frequently contradicted himself. *Leake* and myself smiled upon some observations between ourselves. *Djezzar* became furious. 'I, who have been a Pasha of three tails 'these five years; I, (*said he*) who have defeated twelve thousand '*Druzes* with twenty horsemen, am I to be insulted in this manner? '—I am speaking seriously. Am I to be laughed at and derided?—

'I am

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Ismaël is described by *English* travellers, who have since visited *Acre*, as a very amiable man, and in every respect the very reverse of this *Herod* of his time. CHAP. I.

After our last interview with *Djezzar*, we

'I am an old man: you are children. Look at my beard.—I am cholerie; 'I know not what may be the consequence! Had I not been in my 'own house, I should instantly have bursted forth and died with 'indignation! I am now in such a rage, and have talked so much, 'that I can neither see nor distinguish any of you!' His mouth, at different times, was so parched with anger and exertion, that he took large draughts of water, and remarked, that he had never drank so much water in his life. After a violent conversation of two hours, in which the cruelty, the tyranny, the ingratitude of this monster were displayed in their blackest colours, we took our departure; telling him, that we would repeat our visit in the evening.

"In the course of this morning's interview, he told us, that he was a just man, and fond of order and regularity. 'If my soldiers touch 'me, or have the appearance of offering the smallest insult, I imme- 'diately order them to be beheaded. If a man insult a woman, his 'punishment is the same. If I desire a man to sit down in my pre- 'sence, and I go out of the apartment, and he quit his seat before 'my return, the loss of his head is the consequence.'

"In the afternoon, we again landed, with an intention to visit the Pasha; but we were told by the Dragoman, that he had gone into his Charem, and would not be visible this evening: we therefore returned to the ship.

"*April* 15th. After breakfast we went ashore, with an intention to visit *Djezzar*; but we were told by his Dragoman, that he had issued orders, at the gates of the Seraglio, to refuse our admission. We then inquired if it were possible to hire horses, to pass by land to *Tripoli*: the Dragoman answered in the negative; for there would be no security for our persons. We then determined to get under weigh, and proceed to *Tripoli* by sea. At one P. M. we were unmoored, and got out of the bay, with a small breeze from the northward."

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CHAP. I.

Further Account of *Acre*.

made a final survey of the town of *Acre*, particularly of its market, which is well supplied with most of the *Eastern* commodities. Cotton is the principal export. Its tobacco is very highly esteemed; and coarse muslins, remarkable for the durability of their dye, are sold at a low rate. The inhabitants make use of wooden tubes for their tobacco-pipes, garnished with a swathing of silk or linen, for the purpose of absorbing water. This, being kept moist, cools the smoke, as it rises, by the constant evaporation. This method of smoking tobacco is less deleterious than the *Arab* custom of using the *hooka*, which generally consists of nothing more than a hollow gourd containing water, and two pieces of cane; but the whole of the smoke, instead of being drawn into the mouth, is thereby inhaled upon the lungs; a practice which sometimes causes asthma, where it has been long continued[1]. *Mariti*, in the account of his journey

(1) *Shaw* mentions this custom (*See Travels, p.* 234. *Lond.* 1757. *Note* 9). He says the *Arabs* call it *Shrob el Doukhan*, that is to say, "*drinking of smoke*." It is a universal practice, not only in the *Levant*, but over all the *Mediterranean*. Like other intoxicating habits, when once acquired, it is not readily abandoned. The effect produced resembles that of a dram; causing, at the moment, distention of the nerves and vessels of the head, particularly of the eyes. The *Greek* who travelled with us, after thus conveying all the smoke he could collect from a well-kindled pipe into his lungs, could retain it there for

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from *Acre* to *Mount Carmel*, mentions the exportation to *Venice* of the sand of the River *Belus*, for the glass-houses of that city. "It is," says he[2], "to this river, *Belus*, that we are indebted for those magnificent plates of glass which *Venice* manufactured, to embellish the apartments of *Europe*." The *Arabs* call this river *Kardané*. In *Acre* we observed several individuals engaged in manufacturing the kind of leather known in England under the vulgar appellation of *Red Morocco*; and as the whole process was publickly exhibited, it may be regretted that we did not pay more attention to the articles made use of in preparing the dye, which produced the most lively and brilliant scarlet we had ever beheld. The skins were constantly exposed, during the operation, to the hottest beams of the sun, in the most sultry season of the year.

Before we conclude our remarks upon *Acre*, it will be proper to state, that the pointed arches

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for a few seconds, and sometimes drink a glass of water, before he rendered back the smoke, in curling volumes, through his lips and nostrils. The *Mohammedans* are so delighted by the effects of inhaling smoke, that, when they have emptied their lungs of it, they exclaim, "ALHANDILLAH," *God be praised!*

(2) *Mariti's* Travels through *Cyprus*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, vol. II. p. 124. *Lond.* 1791.

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CHAP. I.

Existence of the *Pointed Arch* in the *Holy Land;*

of a lofty building represented in the *Vignette* of this Chapter, belong to the edifice noticed by *Le Bruyn*[1]. The *pointed arches*, so accurately delineated by that very able artist, have been a stumbling-block in the way of some modern theories, respecting the origin of *Gothic* architecture[2]. But these are by no means the only examples of the *pointed style* in the *Holy Land*, which refer to an earlier period than the erection of such arches in *England*. The author has already enumerated other instances, as old as the age of *Justinian*[3], if not of *Constantine*.

and elsewhere in the *East.*

There are similar remains, of equal antiquity, in *Cyprus* and in *Egypt*. It may indeed be matter of surprise that such works should have been ascribed to the labours of *English* workmen, in the time of the *Crusades*, when foreigners, or the pupils of foreigners, were employed in *England*, for every undertaking of the kind, so late as the reign of *Henry the*

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(1) See the engraving in *Le Bruyn's* Travels.

(2) And will continue to be so. *Acre* was taken by the *Saracens*, A. D. 1291; the *Christians* have never been permitted to gain a footing there since that event; therefore the pointed arches noticed by *Le Bruyn* belong to an edifice which has been a ruin during the last six hundred and twenty years.

(3) The author of "*Munimenta Antiqua*" notices *pointed arches* in an aqueduct of JUSTINIAN. *See Vol.* IV. *p.* 75. *Note* 1. *Lond.* 1805. The *pointed arch* is also seen in aqueducts built by TRAJAN.

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Eighth; nor can any hypothesis be formed more liable to dispute than that which deduces the origin of *any* style of architecture from the *North* of *Europe*; "whence nothing ever came but the sword and desolation[4]." Six *Oriental* cities may be named, where this kind of architecture was formerly in use: these are, *Nicotia* in CYPRUS; *Ptolemaïs*, *Dio Cæsarea*, and *Jerusalem*, in the HOLY LAND; *Rosetta*, and *Caïro*, in EGYPT. In all these cities, there are remains of the *pointed style*, which relate to a much earlier period than its introduction in *England*. A further acquaintance with *Oriental* architecture will, assuredly, bring to light many other instances than those which have now been adduced. In the *north* of our island, indeed, a greater degree of antiquity may be claimed for the *pointed arch*, then even the advocates for its *English* origin have ever assigned to it. Masons were first brought into *England* by a monk, the preceptor of the venerable *Bede*, about the middle of the *seventh* century, together with the arts of painting and of glazing[5]. About this

(4) *De Châteaubriand's* Travels, vol. II. p. 124. *Lond.* 1811.

(5) "*Benet* the Monke, and maister of the reverend *Beda*, brought first the crafte of Painting, Glasing, and Masons, into this land." *Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England*, *pp.* 27, 28. *Lond.* 1598.

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time the monastery of *Ely* was founded, and the abbeys of *Abingdon*, *Chertsey*, and *Barking*, were builded[1]. The monastery of *Gloucester* was also established[2]. But before this time, *Iona*, upon the western coast of *Scotland*, was a seat of letters: the writings of *Adamnanus*, its abbot, have been often cited in these Travels. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that an abbey church existed in that island prior to the foundation of the monastery at *Ely*. *Adamnanus* was born, in the beginning of the *seventh* century[3], at *Rathboth*, now called *Raphoe*, in the County of *Donegal*, in *Ireland*; which country he left when he became abbot of *Iona*[4]. As at that time the model of every *Christian* sanctuary was derived from the *Holy Land*, and generally from the *Church* of the *Holy Sepulchre*[5], where the *pointed style* may yet be discerned in the

(1) *Stow's* Summary of the Chronicles of *England*, pp. 27, 28. *Lond.* 1598.

(2) Ibid.

(3) A. D. 626.

(4) *Butler's* Lives of the Saints, vol. IX. p. 308. *Edin.* 1799.

(5) Witness the interesting though almost unnoticed model of the *Church* of the *Holy Sepulchre*, called "*the Round Church*," in *Cambridge*, built by the Knights of *Jerusalem*, and shewing precisely the form of the building as it existed in the *seventh* century. *See the Plan given by Adamnanus, apud Mabillon. Acta Sanctor. Ordin. Benedicti, Sæc.* 3. *Par.* 2. *p.* 505. *L. Par.* 1672.

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superstructure covering the *Sepulchre* itself[6], it is surely probable that *Iòna*, whose abbot drew up so accurate an account of all the *holy places*, would preserve something in imitation of its most sacred edifices. The author of these Travels once visited *Iòna;* and in the numerous vestiges of ecclesiatical splendour which he there observed, in the rude bas-reliefs of its sepulchral monuments, in granite coffins, but, above all, in the remains of the pointed *Gothic* style exhibited in the ruins upon that island[7], a traveller there might rather imagine himself viewing the antiquities of the *Holy Land*,

(6) See *Pococke's* Travels, and the Engravings already given in this work. The curious work of *Bernardino*, "*Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de sacri Edifizi de Terra Santa*," published at *Florence*, in 1620, gives the rules and exact dimensions for the construction of sanctuaries after the model of the *Holy Sepulchre*, which, at the time of *Bernardino's* visit to *Jerusalem*, was entirely surrounded with pointed arches. The pointed arches of the *Mikias*, in the *Isle of Rhouda*, near *Cairo*, are of the ninth century, as will be proved in a subsequent Note. Many other instances might be adduced to prove that the *pointed style* in architecture existed in all the oldest *Saracenic* structures; but the *Eastern* origin of the *pointed arch* has been so satisfactorily demonstrated by WHITTINGTON, (*Hist. Surv. of Eccles. Antiq.* &c.) by HAGGITT, (*Lett. on Gothic Architect.*) by KERRICH, (*Observ. on the Churches of Italy, Archæol. Vol.* XVI.) and by HAWKINS, (*Hist. of the Orig. &c. of Gothic Architecture,*) that an obstinate denial of *the fact* is merely the struggle of ignorance against the acknowledgment of error.

(7) See *Pennant's Hebrides*, Plates XXII and XXIII. p. 253. *Chester*, 1774.

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and of edifices erected by the mother of *Constantine*, than of an ecclesiastical establishment upon a small island in the *Hebrides*; and upon an island, too, which was already thus distinguished, before the inhabitants of *England* could be said to be converted to *Christianity*; at an æra when the king of the *East Angles* was actually sending into *Burgundy* for missionaries to preach the *Christian* faith[1]. The state of *Iòna*, indeed, at that period, can only be accounted for by the intercourse which was then maintained with the *Holy Land* by all parts of the *Christian* world. As a seat of learning, *Iòna* was so renowned, that its abbot was appointed to act as ambassador from *Ireland* to an *English* monarch[2]; and it is well known that *Bede* borrowed his account of the *Holy Land* from *Arculfe*'s testimony, as afforded by *Adamnanus*. We may therefore with justice ask, "Has it been proved, that, prior to the introduction of the *Saxon* arch in the southern

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1) *Stow*'s Summary, &c. p. 27. *Lond.* 1598.

(2) *Bede*, as cited by *Mabillon*, mentions the embassy of *Adamnanus* to *Euldfrith* (called *Aldfrid* by *Bede*), king of the *Northumbrians*, a short time before the abbot's death, in 705. "*Adamnanum mortuum esse paullo post suam legationem ad Aldfridum, anno* DCCV *defunctum, teste Beda in lib.* v. *cap.* 19. *anno regni sui vigesimo necdum impleto.*" (Vide *Mabillon.* Acta Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. 3. Par. 2. p. 500. *L. Par.* 1672.)

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provinces of our island, no instance of the *pointed style* adorned those ecclesiastical establishments in the *north*, which, having no connexion with the *Saxons*, were erected at an earlier period, and after a different model? It is conceived that this question cannot be answered, by urging that the *pointed style* originated in our country from the intersection of circular arches. The fact of the existence of *pointed arches*, before the period assigned for their invention in *England*, is a plain document, which cannot be superseded[3]: it rests upon the evidence of *pointed arches* situate

(3) See the very recent but most satisfactory elucidation of this subject, by the Rev. *T. Kerrich*, read before the Society of Antiquaries, *May* 11, 18, and *June* 1, 1809, and since published in the XVIth volume of their *Archæologia*. Speaking of the supposed *English* origin of *Gothic* architecture, Mr. *Kerrich* says, "The late Mr. *Gilpin*, I believe, first broached this notion, (*See Gilpin's Northern Tour, vol.* I.) at least he first delivered it to the world in print: he had never been out of *England:* he was therefore excusable: but how people who had travelled, and had visited the other countries of *Europe*, could patronize such a notion, is really surprising: they must know, unless they voluntarily shut their eyes, that, throughout the Low Countries, from ST. OMER'S to COLOGNE, *the old churches are all Gothic:* and many of them immense structures, and wonderfully beautiful; such as the cathedrals of *Antwerp* and *Mechlin*, *St. Gudule's* at *Brussels*, and *St. Bavon's* at *Ghent*, and numberless others. *The whole of France is covered with them*, from *Calais* to *Lyons*, and quite to the banks of the *Rhine*, where the cathedral of *Strasburg* is eminently light and beautiful. The cathedral and church of *St. Nicaise* at *Rheims*, the cathedrals of *Amiens*, *Rouen*, and *Evreux*, are also well known as buildings of extraordinary dimensions and elegance in this style of architecture. According to *Ponz's Voyage de España*, and the

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in countries then unknown to *Englishmen;* as in the Tombs of *Oriental Tartary;* also of *pointed arches* in *Egypt* and in the *Holy Land,* in the examples already alluded to; and there are others which have not been adduced. The roof of a chamber in one of the pyramids of *Saccára,* in *Egypt,* is so constructed, that the section of it would exhibit a *lancet* form; the sides being inclined at an angle of about sixty degrees[1]. But even with reference to buildings erected in the *twelfth* century, and especially to the mosque and sepulchre of Sultan *Zahir,* near the eastern gate of *Caïro*[2], will the assumption be deemed sufficient to account for the *pointed arches* they

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the writings of other travellers, the case is the very same in every kingdom of SPAIN." Mr. *Kerrich* then proves its existence, and describes its remains, over all GERMANY and ITALY. See *Observations on Gothic Buildings and Architecture, by the Rev. T. Kerrich, Principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge, M.A. F.S.A. Archæologia, vol.* XVI. *p.* 299, *et seq. Lond.* 1811.

(1) The author himself saw this roof, in his subsequent visit to those *Pyramids;* but having neglected to notice it in his Journal, and preserving only a doubtful recollection of the fact, he consulted his friend *Burckhärdt,* now travelling in *Egypt,* upon the subject of its existence. The following is an Extract from a Letter, dated *Caïro, July* 10, 1815, containing Mr. *Burckhärdt*'s answer. "There is a large room in one of the *Pyramids* to the *south* of those which are commonly called '*Pyramids of Saccára,*' the roof of which is formed by the inclination of the two sides; which meet above, at an angle of about sixty or sixty-five degrees." *Burckhärdt's MS. Letter.*

(2) Vid. *Museum Worsleyanum,* p. 87. *Lond.* 1794. Caliph *Zahir* lived in the *twelfth* century.

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exhibit; that "the *Caliph* who built them, *perhaps employed some Christian slaves in the work.*" The supposition itself involves an absurdity; for if an intolerant *Moslem* had given such a preference to *Christians* who were *his slaves*, these men must have been supernaturally inspired with *architectural* knowledge for the undertaking.

Acre has been described as the scene of a very interesting story in *English* history, which may, however, be destitute of any real foundation in truth. It is related by *Speed*[3], that *Eleanor*, wife of *Edward the First*, here drew the poison from her husband's arm, after he had been poignarded by an assassin; applying her lips to the wound. "Pitie it is," says *Fuller*[4], "so pretty a storie should not be true (with all the miracles in Love's legends)! and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex; yet can it not stand with what others have written[5],—How the physician, who was to dresse his wounds, spake to the Lord *Edmund*

(3) See *Speed's* Hist. of *Edward the First.*

(4) *Fuller's* Historie of the Holy Warre, book iv. chap. 29, p. 220. *Camb.* 1651.

(5) See *Fox*, Martyrolog. p. 337.

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and the Lord *John Voysie*, to take away Ladie *Elenor* out of the prince's presence, lest her pitie should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out, and wrung her hands, 'Madame,' said they, 'be contented: it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of *England* should lament a great season:' and so they conducted her out of the place." The tradition, however, which, after all, is not disproved by the evidence *Fuller* has adduced, has given rise to one of the finest specimens of modern sculpture existing in the world[1]: and as it affords, perhaps, the only remaining proof of the surprising abilities of an *English* artist (snatched from the pursuit of fame in the very opening of a career which might have classed him with the best sculptors of Antient *Greece*), the author considers it a patriotic duty to pay some tribute to its

Anecdote of *Deare*, an *English* sculptor.

(1) The work of *John Deare*, who, at a very early period of life, attained to a surprising degree of perfection in sculpture and design. He died a few years ago, at *Rome*, at the very time when the first proofs of his genius began to obtain the patronage necessary for its full developement. The particular work alluded to is a bas-relief, executed in the marble of *Carrara*. It was purchased by Sir *Corbet Corbet*, an *English* baronet, and belongs now to his collection. This brief allusion to a young artist, who would have been an honour to his country, is perhaps the only biographical document concerning him likely to be made public.

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merit, and, thereby, to the memory of its author. CHAP. I.

Our voyage from *Acre* was as prosperous as the former one had been from *Egypt*. The serenity of the *Mediterranean*, at this season of the year, is surprisingly contrasted with the tremendous storms which prevail during the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. We steered for *Egypt* with every sail extended; but were impelled by such gentle breezes, that the motion of the frigate was scarcely perceptible. On the twenty-first of *July*, at seven o'clock P. M. we were under weigh, and about ten came to anchor off *Cape Carmel*. The next morning, at four A. M. we made sail again, and continued our progress all that day and the following night, without any occurrence worth notice. On the morning of *July* the twenty-fourth, at seven A. M. the Island of *Cyprus* was visible, bearing N. N. W. distant ten or eleven leagues. At five A. M. of the following morning, the same island was still in view, and nearly at the same distance, bearing N. and by E. Voyage to *Egypt*.

July the twenty-sixth, at seven P. M. we hailed the *Thisbe* frigate. This day, being *Sunday*, we accompanied Captain *Culverhouse* to the gun-

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Accident which befel the *Romulus*.

room, to dine there with his officers, according to his weekly custom. As we were beginning our dinner, the voice of a sailor employed in heaving the lead was suddenly heard calling "*half four!*" The Captain, starting up, reached the deck in an instant; and almost as quickly putting the ship in stays, she went about. Every seaman on board thought she would be stranded; as she came about, all the surface of the water exhibiting a thick black mud; and this extended so widely, that the appearance resembled an island. At the same time, no land was really visible, not even from the mast-head, nor was there any notice of such a shallow in any chart on board. The fact is, as we learned afterwards, that a stratum of mud, extending for many leagues off the mouths of the *Nile*, exists in a moveable deposit near the coast of *Egypt*, and, when recently shifted by currents, it sometimes reaches quite to the surface, so as to alarm mariners with sudden shallows, where the charts of the Mediterranean promise a considerable depth of water. These shallows, however, are not in the slightest degree dangerous; vessels no sooner touch them, than they are dispersed; and a frigate may ride secure, where the soundings would induce an inexperienced pilot to believe her nearly aground. In the

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evening of this day we made land, and saw the eastern fort at the entrance of the *Damiata* branch of the *Nile*, bearing N. W. distant seven or eight miles.

July the twenty-seventh, at ten A. M. we were employed in answering signals from the *Heroine*; and it was very interesting to us landsmen, to observe the facility with which the commanders of frigates, separated from each other by such an immense distance that their vessels were scarcely visible to the naked eye, held a conversation with each other. We had calm weather with light breezes during this and the following day: no land was visible. July the twenty-ninth, observed a strange cutter to leeward, and land bearing S. W. and by S. supposed to be Cape *Brule*, distant six or seven miles. *July* the thirtieth, about three P. M. we made land from the mast head, which proved to be Cape *Berelos*, bearing S. S. W. distant about ten or twelve miles, the town of *Rosetta* being at the same time W. and by S. half S. distant ten or eleven miles.

July the thirty-first, a calm and a strong current compelled us to anchor east of *Rosetta*, in five fathoms and a half water. On the

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following morning, being the first of *August*, at seven A. M. weighed, and made sail. At four P. M. saw the fleet off *Aboukir*, and plainly observed the Admiral's ship. The same evening, at eight o'clock, we came to anchor nearly in the station held by the *Romulus* previous to her sailing for the coast of SYRIA. Here we received the joyful intelligence of the surrender of *Caïro*, reports of which had reached us in SYRIA. Presently after, Captain *Clarke* came alongside, in the *Braakel's* barge; when, taking leave of our kind friends, we regained once more a comfortable birth within his cabin.

Arrival at *Aboukir*.

We had not been here many days, before the *Braakel* received orders from the Admiral, Lord *Keith*, to convoy the *French* prisoners captured at *Rachmanie* and the different forts upon the *Nile*, including the garrison of *Caïro*, to *Marseilles;* and, at the same time, to take in, with as many of those prisoners as possible, their artillery, arms, baggage, &c. and to sail with all possible expedition. So rapid were the measures adopted by Captain *Clarke* for this purpose, that he was ready before any of the other vessels appointed to convey the prisoners had obtained their cargo; and, making the signal for sailing to all the convoy, he was ordered to proceed on

The *Braakel* receives orders to convoy a Squadron to *Marseilles*.

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his voyage, without waiting for the other ships. The scene which ensued on board the *Braakel*, upon the arrival of the *French* prisoners, baffles every effort of description. Strolling players, collected in a barn, never exhibited more ludicrous dresses, or a better burlesque of the military character. *Voltaire*, dressed in his pasteboard helmet, with his laced coat and long dirty ruffles, to represent, in one of his own plays, the person of *Alexander the Great*, was a hero, compared with some of the soldiers of the *French* army. There were many who made their appearance with the most ghastly visages, beneath helmets of all colours, covered with horses' tails pending over their wrinkled cheeks and shrugged-up shoulders. Every one imagined he should testify a proper degree of spirit, and perhaps ingratiate himself with a *British* crew, by the ejaculation of some *English* oath, as soon as he set his foot upon the quarter-deck. When they were all drawn up, in three lines, to be reviewed, and their respective births were assigned to them, some of the new comers were found to be abandoned women, wretchedly dressed in the tattered habits of *French* soldiers. Other females, more pitiable, came also in men's clothes; but these were *Georgian* and *Circassian* girls, once the secluded pride of *Turkish Charems*,

French Prisoners.

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but afterwards the more lamentable slaves of the lowest rabble of the *French* army. They were desirous of going anywhere, rather than to remain in EGYPT, where they were sure of being immolated by the first *Moslem* they might encounter.

As soon as matters were somewhat adjusted, and the wounded men taken care of (among whom there were a few in so terrible a condition that they died upon the following day), a deputation, from all the prisoners, waited upon the Captain, to offer him a band of music every day during dinner; and requesting his permission to exhibit a *club-d'armes*, for fencing, every morning; and a *comédie* every evening. Never was there any thing to equal the gaiety and good-humour of these poor *Frenchmen*. All animosity was laid aside; singing, dancing, fencing, and acting, became the order of the day; even the wounded, when able to come upon deck, shewed signs of the joy which animated their comrades in the thoughts of returning to *France*. They would do any thing to gratify the *English* officers and men. Sometimes, when their band played "*God save the King*," the members of the theatrical party, in the forecastle, sang out, in broken *English*, "*Send him victorious!*"

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The moment came, however, which was to create a pause in all this mirth. The *Braakel* got under weigh; and a stiff gale causing more motion than suited either the *club-d'armes* or the *comédie*, every *Frenchman* was indisposed. Nothing was then heard but groans and curses. All the instruments were out of tune; and the deck was soon abandoned to the active sailors belonging to the ship's crew. It had been Captain *Clarke*'s intention, in tacking out of *Abouhir* Roads, to put us on board the *Sultan Selim*, commanded by the *Capudan Pasha*, with whom we were acquainted; but this proved to be impracticable. To our very great consternation, we found ourselves, upon the morning of the seventh of *August*, so far advanced in the voyage to *France*, that we were already out of sight of the fleet. The Captain told us there was only this alternative; either to go with him to *Marseilles*, or to accept of a small boat, which he would willingly give us, and, in this, run before the wind to the Mouth of the *Nile*. The turbulent appearance of the sea did not at all tempt us to try so hazardous an experiment as the last; for if we had so done, and had escaped the consequences of our own ignorance among mountainous waves, we should inevitably have perished in the surf upon the coast. We therefore could only lament the loss of our intended

Author narrowly escapes being conveyed to *France*.

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journey in *Egypt*, and retire into the cabin with General *La Grange*, to whom we made known our very embarrassing situation. While we were thus ruminating upon the unexpected change in all our plans, a cry upon deck announced that a sail was in sight, standing towards *Aboukir*. This proved to be the *Diadem*, of 64-guns, Captain *Larmour*, from *Cyprus*, with wood and water, which presently drew near to us, and was hailed from the *Braakel*. We requested a passage to the fleet: this was granted, and with some difficulty we got on board. Here we found Colonel *Capper*, the bearer of overland despatches from *India* to the *British* army in *Egypt*. He gave us an account of his very arduous expedition; and communicated some interesting particulars, concerning the existence of antient *Pagan* superstitions in Mount *Libanus*, particularly those of *Venus* or *Astaroth*. These were alluded to in the preceding Volume[1]; and as a renewal of the subject here might be deemed irrelevant, the author has reserved his observations upon Colonel *Capper*'s discovery for the *Appendix*[2]: it relates to a very interesting relique of the antient mythology of SYRIA.

Worship of *Astaroth* upon Mount *Libanus*.

(1) See Vol. IV. p. 204. Note 1.

(2) See the *Appendix* to this Volume, No. I.

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Upon our return to the fleet, Captain *Larmour* accompanied Colonel *Capper* to the Admiral's ship; and we revisited the *Ceres*, where we found our valuable friend Captain *Russel*, to the great grief of his officers and crew, and all who had the happiness of knowing him, in such a state of indisposition as put an end to every hope of his recovery. We had much difficulty in obtaining a passage to *Rosetta* on board one of the *djerms*, or boats belonging to the *Nile*; but, at length, permission was granted us to sail in one of these vessels, from the *Eurus*, Captain *Guion*, who treated us with that politeness we had so often experienced from the officers of the *British* Navy. We left the Bay of *Aboukir*, *August* the eighth, about ten o'clock A. M. As we drew near to the *Rosetta* mouth of the *Nile*, we observed that the signal-boat was not out[3]. So many lives had been lost upon the *bar* by not attending to this circumstance[4],

Dangerous Passage of the *Bar* at the Mouth of the *Nile*.

(3) During the *Egyptian* Expedition, a boat with a signal-flag was always anchored on the outside of the mouth of the *Nile*, when the surf upon the *bar* was passable.

(4) Scarcely a day elapsed, during our first visit to *Rosetta*, in which some lives were not sacrificed, owing to the inattention paid to the signal. It was even asserted, that the loss of men at the mouth of the *Nile*, including those both of the army and navy, who were here sacrificed, was greater than the total of our loss in all the engagements that took place with the *French* troops in *Egypt*.

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and such positive injunctions issued by the Commander-in-chief against attempting to pass when the signal was removed, that we supposed the *Arabs* belonging to the *djerm* would take us back to the fleet. The wind was, however, against our return; and the crew of the boat persisted in saying that a passage was practicable. It was accordingly attempted; but the surf soon drove us back, and we narrowly escaped being overwhelmed by it. A second attempt was then made, nearer to the eastern side of the river's mouth. We prevailed upon some *English* sailors, who were on board, to let the *Arabs* have their own way, and not interfere with the management of the *djerm*, however contrary it might seem to their usual maxims. Never was there a more fearful sight, nor a scene of greater confusion, than ensued when we reached the middle of the tremendous surf a second time. The yells of the *Arabs*, the oaths of the sailors, the roaring of the waters, the yawning gulphs occasionally disclosing to us the bare sand upon the *bar*, while we were tossed upon the boiling surf, and, to complete the whole, the spectacle afforded by another *djerm* swamped and wrecked before our eyes, as we passed with the velocity of lightning, unable to render the least assistance, can never

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be forgotten. We had often read accounts of dangerous surf, in books of voyages, but entertained no notion in any degree adequate to the horrors which mariners encounter in such a situation; nor is there any instance known of a more frightful surf than this river sometimes exhibits, by its junction with the *Mediterranean*. No sooner had we gained a certain point, or tongue of land, advancing from the eastern shore of the river towards the north-west, than a general shout from the *Arabs* announced that every danger was over:—presently we sailed as serenely along as upon the calmest surface of any lake. The distance of the mouth of the *Nile* from the station of the *British* armament is considerable; but while we remained at anchor in the Bay of *Aboukir*, we could perceive the ships stationed near to the *Boccaz*; and in like manner we here observed the masts of the fleet in the bay.

As we entered the *Nile*, we were amused by seeing an *Arab* fishing with the sort of net called in *England* a *casting-net*: this, without any difference either in shape, size, or materials, he was throwing exactly after our manner, which may be urged to prove the antiquity of this mode of fishing. *Pelicans* appeared in great

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CHAP. X.

number at the mouth of the river; also that kind of *porpoise* which is called *dolphin* in the *Levant*; this may be seen sporting in the *Nile*, as high up as the town of *Rosetta*. The first object, after entering the *Rosetta* branch, is the Castle, or Fort *St. Julian*. In digging for the fortifications of this place, the *French* discovered the famous *Triple Inscription*, now in the *British* Museum[1]: this will be ever valuable, even if the only information obtained from it were confined to a solitary fact; namely, that the hieroglyphic characters do exhibit THE WRITING OF THE PRIESTS of *Egypt*[2]. This truth will now no longer be disputed; therefore the proper appellation for *inscriptions* in these characters, ought rather to be *Hierograms*, than *Hieroglyphs*. A surprising number of *Turkish* gun-boats were stationed opposite to Fort *St. Julian* at the time we passed; and when the beautiful prospect of *Rosetta* opened to our view, the whole surface of the river, in front of the town, appeared also covered with gun-boats and with *djerms*.

Fort St. Julian.

Upon our arrival, at five o'clock P. M. we

(1) See pp. 6, 7. Chap. I. of Volume IV. 8vo. edit.

(2) See the words of the *Greek* inscription upon that stone, ΤΟΙϹ ΤΕ ΊΕΡΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ.

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found an amusing proof of the effect of war annihilating all civil distinctions. The house we had formerly occupied was full of sailors, soldiers, and other tenants; our apartments had been converted into *Charems*, and were filled with *Georgian*, *Circassian*, and *Egyptian* girls; these we found sitting unveiled upon the floor; some working embroidery, others chattering and laughing. One of them, a beautiful female, taken from a tribe of *Bedouin Arabs*, exhibited a fine countenance disfigured with those blue scars which were described in the account of *Bethlehem*. They were marks, as she pretended, which entitled her to a very high consideration among the *Arabs* of the Desert. These women had been presented by the *French* prisoners to the officers and men of our army and navy. They appeared to be as much at home, and as tranquil, in the protection of their new masters, as if they had been thus settled for life. The most lamentable part of the story is, that when our people were compelled to abandon them, they were put to death by the *Moslems*. A woman who has admitted the embraces of a *Christian* is never afterwards pardoned. It is lawful, and deemed laudable, for the first *Turk* or *Arab* who meets with her, to deprive her instantly of life. In this scene of confusion we

CHAP. I. State of Affairs in *Rosetta*.

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were constrained to take up our abode; there being no alternative; until we could complete our preparations for a voyage up the *Nile* to *Grand Cairo*. Indeed, we had reason to be thankful for such accommodations; considering the disordered state of affairs at this time in *Rosetta*. We hired a *djerm* in the evening of our arrival; and made application the next day, *August* 9th, to the *Commissary* of the army, for his permission to purchase provisions, in the market. This we had great difficulty in obtaining. The *Commissary* seemed to consider, and perhaps with reason, at this critical juncture, every application which did not relate to the business of the army, as an unwarrantable intrusion. Some degree of rudeness, however, in the manner of his refusal, struck us the more forcibly; as we had experienced the greatest civilities from his worthy predecessor, who had recently fallen a victim to the effects of the climate. Having urgent letters of recommendation from the Commanders-in-chief, both of the army and of the navy, we made our situation known to Mr. *Wills*, purser of Captain *Russel's* ship the *Ceres*, then acting as *Commissary* for the fleet, who interested himself warmly in our behalf. To his kindness we were indebted for being able to prosecute our intended voyage

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with expedition as well as with comfort; and, indeed, without his aid we should not have been allowed the use even of the *djerm* which we had engaged for the undertaking.

We employed the remainder of this day in fitting up a kind of tent, or cabin, by means of mats and the branches of palm-trees, upon the stern of our vessel; lining it with our mosquitoe-nets, to protect us from the swarm of those insects upon the river. The *inundation* had begun, and the rapidity of the current was thereby exceedingly increased. The price of every article of provision had become very high, since our last visit to *Rosetta*. For half a pound of *tea* we were obliged to pay near two pounds sterling. The difference between the markets of this place and *Damiata* was astonishing, considering the short distance that separated the two towns. This will appear in stating the value of a dollar; which, in *Rosetta*, was equivalent, either to half a *sheep*, or to three *geese*, or four *fowls*, or eight hundred *eggs*. In *Damiata*, for the same sum, might be purchased, either two *sheep*, six *geese*, twelve *fowls*, or eight hundred *eggs*. The *coffee* of *Mocha*, when *Rosetta* was first captured, might be obtained almost for nothing; but it had been all sold, and a great deal of it

Price of Provisions.

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CHAP. I

Manufacture of *Coffee*

was sent in presents to *England*. One of the most curious sights in *Rosetta* was the manufacture of this article. After roasting the *coffee*, it is pounded in immense iron mortars; three *Arabs* working at a time, with enormous pestles, each as large as a man can raise. The capacity of the bottom of the mortar being only equal to the reception of one of these at a time, the pestles are raised according to the measure of an air sung by an attendant *Arab*, who sits near to the mortar. The main purport of this curious accompaniment of their labour is, to prevent the hand and arm of a boy, kneeling by the mortar, from being crushed to atoms. The boy's arm is always within the mortar, which allows room for each pestle to pass in turn without bruising him, if he place it in time against the side of the vessel; but, as after every stroke he must stir up the powder at the bottom with his fingers, if the precise period of each blow were not marked by the measure of the song, his arm would be struck off. Intoxication, happily, is a vice with which *Arabs* are unacquainted; or else, the constant attention of a whole party, thus employed, being necessary for the safety of the poor child, it may be conceived what the consequences of drunkenness would be, in a manufactory where many of

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these mortars are used. A sight of this process is sufficient to explain the cause of the very impalpable nature of the *coffee* powder used in *Turkey*; where the infusion more resembles the appearance of *chocolate*, than of *coffee*, as we prepare them for beverage in *England*.

Curious Remains of *Pointed Arches*.

After visiting this manufactory, we went to see a building of very great, although of unknown, antiquity, used as a warehouse for keeping stores. It has a vaulted stone roof, with the remarkable appearance of *pointed arches*, caused by imitating the intersection of palm-branches: the sculptured trunks of the trees, whence these ramifications proceed, are represented as being stationed in the four corners, and by the sides, of the vaulted chamber. This curious architectural relique has never been noticed nor described by any author; therefore it is impossible to learn either the age of the building, or its original use. *Quaresmius* is altogether silent upon the subject. He says only of antient *Rosetta*, that it was called SCHEIDA[1]. This place may soon become of more importance than it is at present; in consequence of the total cessation of pilgrimages

(1) "Ab antiquis, ut in mundi theatro legitur, *Scheida* fuit appellata." *Quaresmii Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom.* II. *p.* 1008. *Antv.* 1639.

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CHAP. I.

Probable Consequence of the Interruption of *Mecca* Pilgrimage.

to *Mecca*. The *Wahabee Arabs* have destroyed all the wells which formerly supplied the caravans with water; and nothing less than an army is necessary for their restoration[1]. *Quaresmius*, in mentioning the estimation in which *Rosetta*, as the birth-place of *Mohammed*, is held by the *Moslems*, long ago predicted, that whenever the journeys to *Mecca* were interrupted, it would become the resort of *Moslem* pilgrims[2]. For the reception of such a multitude, *Rosetta* is much better provided than *Mecca*; for it is attested by all travellers[3], and among these by our countryman *Sandys*[4], that "no place

(1) "It is now five years since the *Wahabees* have prevented the pilgrims from performing their journey to *Mecca*. They have destroyed the cisterns in the Desert; and it is impossible to have these repaired, without sending an army to protect the workmen. This condition will hardly ever be fulfilled, as there are not more than 10,000 soldiers in all *Syria;* and the *Wahabee* Chief has, at any time, more than 100,000 men, mounted on camels, at his disposal. The interruption of this pilgrimage is considered by the *Turks* as a sign of the approaching desolation of the *Turkish* Empire." *MS. Letter from Burckhardt, the African Traveller, dated Aleppo, May* 3, 1811.

(2) "Fertur in partibus illis, ex ea civitate originem traxisse Mahometem, pseudo-prophetam Turcarum et aliorum Infidelium caput; ac ideò illam magni æstimant. Quare, si Mecha, ubi sepulchrum dicitur esse Mahometis, à Christianis caperetur, et ad illud interdicta esset ipsorum peregrinatio, Rosetum peregrinarentur." *Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom.* II. *p.* 1008. *Antv.* 1639.

(3) "In optima uberique regione sita, omni bonorum genere ad opulente vivendum affluente, carnibus, piscibus, fructibus, &c." *Ibid.*

(4) *Sandys'* Travels, p. 166, *Lond.* 1637.

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under heaven is better furnished with graine, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, roots," together with all other necessaries and luxuries of life.

Exhibition of the *Psylli*, or *Serpent-Eaters.*

During our former visit to *Rosetta*, we neglected to notice the particular day of the [5] year on which a most singular exhibition of the *Serpent-eaters*, or *Psylli*, as mentioned by *Herodotus*[6] and many antient authors[7], took place. A tumultuous throng, passing beneath the windows of our house, attracted our attention towards the quay: here we saw a concourse of people following men apparently frantic, who, with every appearance of convulsive agony, were brandishing live serpents, and then tearing them with their teeth; snatching them from each other's mouths, with loud cries and distorted features, and afterwards falling into the arms of the spectators, as if swooning; the women all the while rending the air with their

(5) *Denon* says, this exhibition takes place during the annual procession of the *Feast of Ibrahim*, at *Rosetta*. He regretted not having been there at the time. See *Denon's Travels, Eng. Edit. Vol.* I. *p.* 128. *Lond.* 1803.

(6) *Herodot.* lib. iv. cap. 173.

(7) *Strabon.* Geog. lib. xvii. *Lucan.* ix. vv. 894, 987. *Pausan.* lib. ix. c. 14. *Dio Cass.* lib. LI. c. 14. *Aul. Gell.* lib. xvi. c. 11, &c. &c.

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CHAP. I.

lamentations. *Pliny* often mentions these jugglers[1]; and as their tricks have been noticed by other travellers, it is only now necessary to attest the existence of this extraordinary remnant of a very antient custom.

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(1) *Plin.* Hist. Nat. lib. vii. c. 2. lib. viii. c. 25. lib. xxv. c. 10. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

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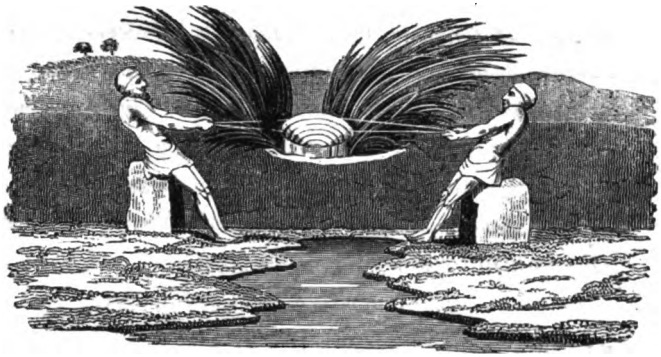

Arabs raising *Water from the* Nile.

CHAP. II.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE, TO GRAND CAIRO.

Example afforded by a Naval Officer—Inaccuracy in the Maps of Egypt*—Triple Harvest of the Delta—Mode of raising Water from the Nile—Summer Habits of the Egyptian Arabs—*Ficus Sycamorus*—Etesian Winds —*Motubis*—Dancing Women—*Debe*—*Sindion *and* Derrûl*—Turkish Cavalry—Arab Customs—*Foua*—*Rachmanie*—Description of the Country—Diseases—Facility of visiting Upper Egypt—*Koum Scheriff*—*Amrus*—Birds—Singular Animal Appearance—Plants—*El Burredgiat*—Remarkable Phœnomenon—Tumblers —Abundance of Corn—Southern Point of the Delta—Arrival at* Bulac*—View of the Pyramids—Visit to the Reis*

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Reis Effendi — House of the French Institute — Jewel Market—Interior of Caïro—*Jugglers—Trees—Incense —Gum Arabic—Plagues of* Egypt—*Statistics of* Caïro *—British Army from* India — *Dinner given by the Commander-in-chief—Discovery made by Brahmins in Upper Egypt—Examination of an Abyssinian concerning Bruce's Travels—Fidelity of that Traveller's Observations confirmed.*

CHAP. II.

WE left *Rosetta* on *Monday, August* the *tenth*, at seven A. M. and called upon Captain *Hillyar*, who had the command of some gun-boats to the south of the town, and whom we found stationed upon the river, on board one of those vessels. His late arduous services, in several engagements with the enemy, were then the subject of very general conversation. The *Capudan Pasha*, in testimony of the gratitude of the *Turkish* Government, had conferred upon him some trifling presents. But that which particularly excited the wonder of all his contemporaries, and which will convey the name of *Hillyar* to posterity, with honours more lasting than even those obtained by his valour and his victories, was the example offered by this distinguished officer to the navies of the world, in proving the possibility of fighting the battles of his

Example afforded by a Naval Officer.

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country, and maintaining unrivalled discipline among his crew, without the utterance of an oath by any man on board the ship he commanded. CHAP. II.

We had convincing evidence of inaccuracy in our best maps of the *Delta*, and of the course of the *Nile*, from the earliest comparisons we made in the country. That of *Kauffer*, published at *Constantinople* in 1799, is extremely incorrect; but it is less so than preceding documents. Soon after leaving *Rosetta*, we passed some extensive canals, conveying water to lands above the level of the river: these are supplied by wheels, sometimes turned by oxen, but more generally by buffaloes. They are banked by very lofty walls, constructed of mud, hardened by the sun. One of them, upon the western side of the river, extended to the Lake *Maadie*. The land, thus watered, produces three crops in each year; the first of clover, the second of corn, and the third of rice. The rice-grounds are inundated from the time of sowing nearly to harvest: the seed is commonly cast upon the water, a practice twice alluded to in Sacred Scripture. *Balaam* prophesied of *Israel*[1], that "HIS SEED SHOULD

Inaccuracy in the Maps of *Egypt*.

Triple Harvest of the *Delta*.

(1) *Numbers* xxiv. 7.

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CHAP. II.

BE IN MANY WATERS." In the directions given for charity by the son of *David*, it is written[1], "CAST THY BREAD UPON THE WATERS: FOR THOU SHALT FIND IT AFTER MANY DAYS." When the rice-plants are about two feet high, they are transplanted. Besides the method of raising water into the high grounds near the river, by means of buckets fastened to a wheel, where the land is not much elevated above the surface of the *Nile*, they use a simple, and probably a very antient contrivance[2], of lifting it in a basket lined perhaps with close matting or with leather[3]. Two men, holding the basket between them, by a cord in each hand fastened to the edge of it, lower it into the *Nile*, and then swing it between them until it acquires a velocity sufficient to enable them to throw the

Method of raising Water from the *Nile*.

(1) *Ecclesiastes* xi. 1.

(2) *See the Vignette to this Chapter.* They who are interested in tracing resemblances between the customs of the *Chinese* and *Egyptians*, may be informed that this manner of irrigating land, which certainly possesses something of singularity, is practised upon the rivers in *China*, without the smallest difference. An engraved representation of it is given in the account of Lord *Macartney's* Embassy. *See vol.* II. *p.* 359. *Lond.* 1797.

(3) Those baskets are made capable of containing water without lining. "The *Mahrea Arabs* have the art of making wicker baskets of so close a texture, that they carry in them, milk, water, and bouza." *See Note to p.* 189 *of Browne's Travels, Lond.* 1799.

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water, over a bank, into a canal near the river. The regular continuance of their motion gives them, at a distance, the appearance of automaton figures, rather than of living beings. They work stark naked, exposed to the sun's most powerful rays, during the whole day; repeating one of their *Arabian* songs: for they seem to have a peculiar air adapted to every labour. As to their summer clothing, when they wear any, it consists only of a blue cotton shirt, girded by a belt round the waist. The *Arabs* whom we saw occasionally near the river, whether alone or in company, made their appearance without any kind of covering. Sometimes they were seen in parties of ten or twelve at a time, walking together, young and old, as naked as they were born, without seeming sensible of any indecency in their appearance.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, observed in the shade, this day at noon, indicated a temperature of ninety degrees. Our course, by a very good boat-compass, given to us by Captain *Clarke* of the *Braakel*, was at this time south, half east. In half an hour, we found it to be east and by north. We observed several trees of a very singular form: they resembled, by the spreading of their boughs, the shape of a fan, and looked, at a

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CHAP. II.

distance, like enormous peacocks with their tails expanded. As we drew near and examined them, they proved to be, every one of them, the *Ficus Sycamorus*, or *Sycamore Fig*; and of this species, although so common in *Egypt*, there was scarcely a single specimen in any *British* herbary, until our return to *England*. It attains an enormous size near *Caïro*; particularly in the Isle of *Rhouda*, where some of them appear larger than the stateliest oaks of our forests. The fruit resembles the common fig in shape; but it is smaller, very dry, insipid, and rarely eaten. The peculiar form of the trees in this part of *Egypt* is owing entirely to the north and north-west, or *Etesian* winds, which prevail with much violence, and for a considerable length of time, during the months of *July* and *August*. As this monsoon happens annually, at the period of the *Nile*'s inundation, the wonderful advantages it offers for the commerce of the country exceed any thing, perhaps, known upon earth. A vessel, leaving *Rosetta*, is driven by it with extraordinary velocity against the whole force of the torrent to *Caïro*, or into any part of *Upper Egypt*. For the purpose of her return, with even greater rapidity, it is only necessary to take down mast and sails, and leave her to be carried against the wind by the powerful current

Ficus Sycamorus.

Etesian Winds.

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of the river. It is thus possible to perform the whole voyage, from *Rosetta*, to *Bulác* the quay of *Caïro*, and back again, with certainty, in about seventy hours; a distance equal to four hundred miles[1].

At half-past one P.M. we came in view of *Motubis*, sometimes written *Metubis*, or *Metabis*[2], famous or infamous for those dancing-women called *Almehs*, which, however, are common in most parts of *Egypt*. When the *French* army marched to *Caïro*, General *Menou* halted here, and, in the true spirit of *French* licentiousness, pretending business with the *Sheiks*, but in reality to gratify himself and his soldiers, demanded an exhibition of these prostitutes. The *Sheiks* of the place wished to be spared, even in *Motubis*, the degradation attending a public display of such dances, and raised difficulties against their attendance; but, says *Denon*[3], "the presence of the generals, and especially of two hundred soldiers, removed the obstacles." In order to heighten the profligate sensuality of

Motubis.

Dancing Women.

(1) *Shaw* makes the distance from *Rosetta* to *Caïro* equal to 200 miles. See *Shaw's* Travels, p. 294. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) See *Denon's* Travels, vol. I. p. 77. *Lond.* 1803.

(3) Ibid. p. 78.

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CHAP. II.

this *Canopic* festival, brandy was administered to the women in large glasses, which, says the same writer, they drank like lemonade. If, therefore, in the scene that followed, something ensued which was deemed revolting, even to the feelings of *French* soldiers, it should be considered rather as characteristical of the *Parisian* rabblement who were present, than of the natural habits of the people of the country. As we approached *Motubis*, our course altered from south-east to south-west. According to *Kauffer*'s map, the course is south-east towards this place from *Rosetta*. We arrived at two o'clock P.M. and observed here some troops of *English* cavalry; but continued our voyage without landing. Opposite to the town of *Motubis*, but farther towards the south, stands *Débé*. The generality of these towns upon the banks of the *Nile* are small, but there is a pleasing variety in their appearance; for they have no resemblance to each other, although all of them be shaded by groves of date and sycamore. We passed *Sindion* and *Derrûl*, two towns opposite to each other, on different sides of the river. At *Sindion* we had the pleasing sight of a party of *Turkish* cavalry upon their march; and were awhile amused by considering the gratification their appearance would afford, if we could have

Débé.

Sindion and Derrûl.

Turkish Cavalry.

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removed them, in their full costume, to one of the *London* theatres. They had their colours flying; yellow and green. Passing through the villages, they continued to beat small kettle-drums; proceeding always in a sluggardly manner, with their knees quite up to their chins; being evidently annoyed by a situation so hostile to their natural indolence as that in which a certain degree of active exertion was unavoidable. Their ludicrous appearance was a source of mirth to the cavalry of the *French* army, even in the heat of battle; among whom the order for making a charge was frequently expressed, according to their natural levity, by the words "*Bas les Pastèques!*" *Down with the Water-melons!* alluding to the appearance presented by the bulky swathing of their large turbans, which give to their heads something of a similitude to those enormous melons: but of this order the *Moslems* rarely awaited the result; they fled as soon as they heard it, in the utmost dismay and confusion.

Arab Customs.

The *Arab* crew of our boat washed their hands, faces, and teeth, before and after eating; cleansing their teeth with wood ashes, which they collected for this purpose from the fire for boiling our kettle. The common fuel used by

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CHAP. II.

the inhabitants of the country is prepared from a mixture of camels' dung, mud, and straw: these ingredients, being made into a paste, are collected in the form of balls, which are afterwards flattened upon the walls of their huts for drying in the sun, and thus formed into circular cakes. From the ashes, after burning these cakes, the *Ammonia* is obtained, which is afterwards sent to *Europe*. The process is briefly and perspicuously described by *Shaw*, in the *Appendix* to his Travels[1]. About four miles to the south of *Sindion*, the *Nile* had overflowed its banks, and was making rapid progress over the adjoining fields. It began to rise upon the *seventeenth* day of *June*. The canal of *Caïro* was cut upon the *eighth of August*, the day of our arrival in *Rosetta* from the *Holy Land*; with the usual observance of public festivity; the *Nile* having then attained its proper height. After this, all the banks were cut, and the dykes opened, to receive the inundation, from *Caïro* to the sea[2]. Our course here was E. N. E. towards

(1) Collectanea, No. X. p. 480. *Shaw's* Travels, *Lond.* 1757.

(2) The Reader may perhaps be curious to know what the symptoms are in the *Nile* (when at the lowest ebb) denoting the incipient flood. We were in *Rosetta* at the precise period for making the observation. This happened upon the *sixteenth* of *May*. For several days before, the water in the river was very shallow, and seemed to stagnate. The smell

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the village of *Foua*, falsely marked as a town in all the maps. Soon afterwards, we steered south-east, and passed that village. It is opposite to *Rachmanie*, now celebrated as the scene of action between our troops and those of the enemy under General *Le Grange*. This officer was raised by *Buonaparté* from the ranks: high respect is due to him for his conduct upon many occasions; but, in particular, for his subsequent humane and exemplary treatment of the wife of one of our commanders in the *West Indies*, who became his prisoner while her huband was engaged with him in the warmest hostilities. If it be a Christian duty to love our enemies, it is surely incumbent upon every Englishman to cherish the memory of actions which thus exalt the character of a soldier to that of a hero.—The *English* flag was flying upon the castle of the fortress of *Rachmanie*; and a party of our troops was stationed there, to guard the town. We spoke to some *Irish* soldiers, asking them the hour; and were much amused by the reply: "To be sure, at sun-set is it not half past four?"

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smell of it was like that of an unwholesome pool, and its surface became partly covered with a green slime. By attentively observing it about this time, a number of little whirlpools, not more than an inch in diameter, might be occasionally noticed, suddenly becoming visible, and as suddenly disappearing. The *Arabs* pointed to these, as the earliest indications of the coming torrent.

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Opposite to *Rachmanie* there is a small island, in the middle of the river. A large vessel with three masts was stationed near the town. The *Nile* is here very broad, and the current was at this time prodigiously rapid; yet the strength of the *Etesian* wind enabled us to stem its force, and to proceed with very great velocity. Villages, in an almost uninterrupted succession, denoted a much greater population than we had imagined this country to contain. Upon each side of the river, as far as the eye could reach, we saw rich fields of corn and rice, with such beautiful groves, seeming to rise out of the watery plains, and to shade innumerable settlements in the *Delta*, amidst never-ending plantations of melons and all kinds of garden vegetables, that, from the abundance of its harvests, *Egypt* may be deemed the richest country in the world. Such is the picture exhibited to the native inhabitants, who are seasoned to withstand the disorders of the country, and can bear with indifference the attacks of myriads of all sorts of noxious animals; to whom mud and mosquitoes, or dust and vermin, are alike indifferent; who, having never experienced one comfortable feeling in the midst of their highest enjoyments, nor a single antidote to sorrow in the depths of their wretchedness, vegetate, like

Description of the Country.

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the *bananas* and *sycamores* around them. But strangers, and especially the inhabitants of *Northern* countries, where wholesome air and cleanliness are among the necessaries of life, must consider *Egypt* as the most detestable region upon earth. Upon the retiring of the *Nile*, the country is one vast swamp. The atmosphere, impregnated with every putrid and offensive exhalation, then stagnates, like the filthy pools over which it broods. Then, too, the plague regularly begins; nor ceases, until the waters return again[1]. Throughout the spring, intermitting fevers universally prevail. About the beginning of *May*, certain winds cover even the sands of the desert with the most disgusting vermin[2]. The latest descendants of *Pharaoh* are not yet delivered from the evils which fell upon the land, when it was smitten by the hands of *Moses* and *Aaron:* the "plague

Diseases.

(1) General *Le Grange* assured us, when on board the *Braakel*, that the ravages in the *French* army, caused by the plague, during the month of *April*, at one time amounted to an hundred men in a single day.

(2) Sir *Sidney Smith* informed the author, that one night, preferring a bed upon the sand of the desert to a night's lodging in the village of *Etko*, as thinking he should be more secure from vermin, he found himself, in the morning, entirely covered by them. *Lice* and *scorpions* abound in all the sandy desert near *Alexandria*.

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of frogs," the "plague of lice," the "plague of flies," the "murrain, boils, and blains," prevail, so that the whole country is "corrupted," and "THE DUST OF THE EARTH BECOMES LICE, UPON MAN AND UPON BEAST, THROUGHOUT THE LAND OF EGYPT." This application of the words of Sacred Scripture affords a literal statement of existing evils; such an one as the statistics of the country do now warrant. In its justification, an appeal may be made to the testimony of all those who have resided in the country during the very opposite seasons of its prosperity and privation; during the inundation, and when the flood has retired; or before it takes place, in the beginning of the year. At the period of the overflow, persons who drink the water become subject to a disorder called "*prickly heat:*" this often terminates in those dreadful wounds alluded to in the Sacred Writings, by the words "BOILS AND BLAINS." During the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, many individuals are deprived of sight, owing to a disorder of the eyes peculiar to this country. *Europeans*, having no other name for it, have called it *Ophthalmia*, from the organs it afflicts. There was hardly an individual who did not suffer, more or less, the consequences of this painful malady. It commences with a

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sensation as if grains of sand had been cast into the eyes[1]. At this season, also, the dysentery begins to number its victims; and although some be fortunate enough to escape the worst effects of this disorder, it proves fatal in many instances[2]. A traveller may escape most of these evils by proper attention: and if he visit the country so as to profit by the *Etesian* winds at the time of the inundation, and hire a *djerm* for his constant residence upon the river, he may venture into *Upper Egypt*, and visit its stupendous remains of antiquity with greater ease and comfort than he ever performed any other expedition. The never-failing monsoon will carry him along, sitting in a cool and comfortable cabin, with every convenience for reading or writing, for food, or rest; and the current of the river alone will operate as favourably for his return. We considered the time we spent

Facility of visiting *Upper Egypt*.

(1) It is said even yet to exist in this country, as a contagious disorder brought by our army from *Egypt*.

(2) The best remedies for this terrible complaint are, first a swathing of flannel, in many folds, about the abdomen; and, secondly, a drink of water, in which rice has been boiled, carefully strained from the grains of rice, which should not be eaten. The very worst effects may be apprehended from brandy, or any of those heating cordials usually administered, by ignorant people, upon these occasions. Rice-water and abstemious diet are the remedies resorted to by the *Arabs* themselves.

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CHAP. II.

upon the *Nile* as the most pleasing part of all our travels; but that which was passed during our residence on shore, as the most disagreeable; notwithstanding the commodious accommodations we met with, in the cities of *Rosetta*, *Caïro*, and *Alexandria*.

After passing *Rachmanie*, darkness deprived us of the very interesting landscape with which we had been continually gratified during the day. We continued sailing almost the whole night, under the care and guidance of our steady pilot at the helm, who, as master of the *djerm*, remained at his post until morning dawned. Four men, besides himself, constituted the whole of the crew; all of whom were *Arabs*. During the time they remained in our service, they were diligent, industrious, faithful, always sober, obliging, and very skilful in managing their vessel. When day-light appeared, upon Saturday, *August* the *eleventh*, they told us they had anchored for some time at a village, fearful of being boarded by pirates during the extreme darkness that prevailed, especially as the light in our cabin rendered the *djerm* visible from the sides of the river. About eight o'clock A. M. we reached a miserable town, called *Koum* or *Komme Scheriff*, built entirely with mud. Soon

Koum Scheriff.

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afterwards we passed the town of *Amrus*, also constructed of mud, and containing a number of lofty conical *pigeon-houses*, similarly built; exhibiting a novel and remarkable appearance in the approach to this place. *Pigeons' dung*, everywhere valuable as manure, is here an important acquisition; for by mixing it with the sand upon the little islands left by the torrent in the midst of the river, a soil is formed, capable of producing water-melons[1].

Birds.

The birds which frequent the *Nile*, if we except the account given by *Hasselquist*[2], are but little known; and our observations will not supply what is here wanted for the natural history of the country. A most superb collection was, however, forwarded to *England*, under the patronage and by the immediate orders of Lord *Hutchinson*. It had been formed, with consummate skill and labour, by a person of the name of *Savigny*. We principally noticed *pelicans*, from the mouth of the *Nile*, as far as *Rachmanie*. The *Sterna Nilotica*, or *Egyptian sea-swallow*, appeared, in immense flocks, near the sides of the

(1) See also Baron *De Tott's* Memoirs, vol.II. p. 248. *Lond.* 1785.
(2) See Travels, p. 193. *Lond.* 1766.

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river. Afterwards we saw many beautiful birds, of whose names we are entirely ignorant; particularly one of the *plover* kind, whose plumage displayed the most lively and variegated colours[1]. The *pigeon-cones* increased very much after passing *Amrus;* almost every village being furnished with them. *Buffaloes,* swimming about in the *Nile,* afford a singular sight, with their black noses sticking out of the water, snorting as they cross from side to side; all the rest of their bodies being concealed. But the most remarkable appearance of living beings, may be noticed by dipping a ladle or bucket into the midst of the river, which is everywhere dark with mud, and observing the swarms of animals contained in the torrent. Among these, *tadpoles* and young frogs are so numerous, that, rapid as the current flows, there is no part of the *Nile* where the water is destitute of them. The additions to our *herbary* were not of any importance; for the season was too far advanced[2].

Singular *Animal* Appearance.

Plants.

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(1) Probably the "*Tringa Ægyptiaca*" of *Linnæus,* "*longirostris, fusco albidoque variegata.*" See *Hasselq.* Trav. p. 199.

(2) In the account of our journey from *Aboukir* to *Rosetta,* (*See Chap.* IX. *Vol.* III. p. 367. 8vo. edit.) five new species were omitted, which may be noticed here, although perhaps not found so high up the *Nile.* The first genus is not mentioned in Professor *Martyn*'s edition of *Miller*'s Dictionary.

I. A non-

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The *rice-plants*, however, may be excepted; they had not attained maturity, being now about two feet in height, and resembling a species of *Typha*, common in large ponds in the south of *England*, vulgarly called *flags*; as these appear, when young, rising from the water. We made the usual observation upon *Fahrenheit*'s ther-

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I. A non-descript grass, being a new species of POLYPOGON; growing in little tufts, about two inches high. We have called it POLYPOGON PUMILUM. (See the character of this genus in the *Flora Atlantica* of M. *Desfontaines*, Professor of Botany in the Museum of Natural History at *Paris*.) This was found near ROSETTA. *Polypogon pumilum, paniculâ ovatâ coarctatâ, aristis calyce hirsuto ferè duplò longioribus. Radix annua fibrosa. Culmi numerosi geniculati, ferè ad apices foliosi. Folia glabriuscula striata, longè vaginantia, supra plana, patentia. Stipulæ laceratæ, nitidæ. Paniculæ inæquales, superiores lineas sex ad novem longæ; inferiores dimidio minores.*

II. A non-descript species of LOTUS, with shining silky leaves, very closely crowded together towards the tops of the branches. We have called it LOTUS POLYPHYLLUS. This was found between *Aboukir* and *Rosetta*, in the month of APRIL. *Lotus caule suffrutescente ramoso, foliis lineari-parabolicis obliquis, imbricatis, sericeis, nitidis internodiis longioribus; floribus subternis; leguminibus glabris calyce hirsutissimo paulo longioribus. Rami adscendentes flexuosi, deorsum e casu foliorum cicatricibus notati nudi; suprà dense foliosi, hirsuti. Foliola lineas tres longa, utrinque sericea. Stipulæ folliolis simillimæ. Flores foliis parum longiores, interdum solitarii. Legumina turgida stylo persistente coronata.*

III. A magnificent non-descript species of OROBANCHE, with a furrowed scaly stem, and a close spike of flowers about three inches broad, and above a foot in height. We have called it OROBANCHE INSIGNIS. This was also found between *Aboukir* and *Rosetta*, at the same time. *Orobanche caule simplici, corollis inflatis, recurvis, quinquefidis, laciniis integerrimis, calycibus quinquepartitis, bracteis ternis quaternisve, spicâ imbricatâ, oblongâ, crassissima; antheris hirsutis.*

IV. A non-

CHAP. II.

El Buredgiat.

mometer, at noon, just before arriving at *El Buredgiat*, and found the temperature equal to that of the former day; ninety degrees. This village is placed accurately in *Kauffer*'s map. We steered south-east and by south. Proceeding towards *Nadir*, the course altered, and we steered due east. The river here appeared like

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IV. A non-descript shrubby species of SALSOLA, belonging to that division of the genus called *Sueda* by *Forskahl* and *Pallas*, and distinguished principally by the want of the membranaceous wing to the calyx. The species is very much branched, with the bark of an ash colour; the smaller branches very leafy; the leaves two to three lines long, a little convex below; the flowers are attended by three small bracts, and generally ternate, but are found also solitary; the seeds black and shining, very small. We have called it SALSOLA NITIDA. This was found in the neighbourhood of *Rosetta*. *Salsola fruticosa, foliis ovatis supra planiusculis, glabris, obtusis; floribus axillaribus subternis; calycibus fructiferis inappendiculatis, conniventibus; seminibus reniformibus turgidis.*

V. A non-descript species of *Wall-flower*, (CHEIRANTHUS *Linn.*) the short stems of which spread upon the ground, and seldom extend beyond the radical leaves; these measure two and a half or three inches in length; the flowers in loose racemes, with purple petals, broad and notched at the end, and interwoven with dark veins; the pods compressed, an inch to an inch and a half in length, with a large three-cornered head, and thinly covered (like every part of the plant, the petals, stamens, and roots excepted) with white forky hairs. We have called it CHEIRANTHUS HUMILIS. This grew in the neighbourhood of *Rosetta*. *Cheiranthus pubescens, humilis; pilis dichotomis; foliis angustis elongatis omnibus pinnatifidis; siliquis compressis, linearibus, tricuspidatis calycibusque pubescentibus.*

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Remarkable Phænomenon.

an immense lake. A singular phænomenon engrossed all our attention. One of those immense columns of sand, mentioned by *Bruce*, came rapidly towards us, turning upon its base as upon a pivot: it crossed the *Nile* so near to us, that the whirlwind by which it was carried placed our vessel upon its beam-ends, bearing its large sail quite into the water, and nearly upsetting the boat. As we were engaged in righting the vessel, the column disappeared. It is not probable that those columns fall suddenly upon any particular spot, so as to be capable of overwhelming an army or a caravan; but that, as the sand, thus driven, is gradually accumulated, it becomes gradually dispersed, and, the column diminishing in its progress, at length disappears. A great quantity of sand is no doubt precipitated as the effect, which gathers it, becomes weaker; but, from witnessing such phænomena upon a smaller scale, it does not seem likely that the whole body of the sand is at once abandoned.

Tumblers.

Parties of young *Arabs* continually accompanied our *djerm* this day, running along the banks of the river, and tumbling, to obtain a few *parás*, as we see children in many parts of *England*; sometimes walking upon their hands, with their

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heels in the air; at others, whirling upon their hands and feet, to imitate the motion of a wheel. Judging from the appearance these presented, the *Arab* complexion, at a very early age, is tawny, and almost black. They swim and dive remarkably well; but these are arts in which all *Eastern* nations excel those of the *Western* world. About three leagues before our arrival at *Kafrakadia*, there was such an amazing quantity of corn in heaps near the river, that it extended nearly to the length of a mile. At this last-mentioned place there was a manufactory for extracting a dark *blue dye* from the *indigo* plant. Here girls of fourteen or fifteen years of age walked the streets, with jars of water upon their heads, perfectly naked. Our course latterly had varied occasionally from S.E. to S.W. At half-past six P.M. we reached that part of the *Nile* where the river divides, so as to inclose the *Delta* by the *Rosetta* and *Damiata* branches. Its appearance above the point of separation was truly noble, being at this time three miles wide. The village or town of *Beersamps* stands upon the southern point of the DELTA. *Koutomey* is upon the western side of the main river, and *Kafranamook* upon the eastern. After we had passed the point of *Beersamps*, our course along the undivided bed of the *Nile* was S.E.

Abundance of *Corn*.

Southern Point of the *Delta*.

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CHAP. II.

Arrival at *Bulâc.*

We arrived at *Bulâc* at midnight; having thus performed a voyage from ROSETTA to the quay of CAÏRO in thirty-six hours, against the utmost force and rapidity of the torrent.

View of the PYRAMIDS.

On *Wednesday*, the *twelfth* of *August*, we were roused, as soon as the sun dawned, by *Antonio*, our faithful *Greek* servant and interpreter, with the intelligence that "the PYRAMIDS were in view!" We hastened from the cabin;—and never will the impression, made by their appearance, be obliterated. By reflecting the sun's rays, they appeared white as snow; and of such surprising magnitude, that nothing we had previously conceived in our imagination had prepared us for the sight of these monuments. We were instantly convinced, that no force of description, no accuracy of delineation, can convey ideas adequate to the effect which is produced in beholding them. The formality of their structure is lost in their prodigious grandeur. The mind, elevated by wonder, feels at once the force of an axiom, which, however disputed, experience confirms,—that in vastness, whatsoever be its nature, there dwells sublimity [1].

(1) "Sublime objects are vast in their dimensions." *Burke on the Sublime, &c. Sect.* 27. *Part* 3. *p.* 237. *Lond.* 1782.

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Another proof of their indescribable power is, that no one ever approached them under other emotions than those of terror; which is another source of the sublime[1]. In certain instances of irritable feeling, this impression of awe and fear has been deep enough to cause pain, rather than pleasure[2]; of which we shall notice a remarkable instance in the sequel. Hence, perhaps, have originated descriptions of the *Pyramids* which represent them as deformed and gloomy masses, constructed without either taste or beauty. They, who derive no satisfaction from the sight of them, may not be conscious, that the uneasiness they experience is a result of their own sensibility. Other individuals have felt impressions widely different, made by every wonderful circumstance of character and

(1) *Burke on the Sublime*, ibid.

(2) Confirming, in a striking manner, these words of BURKE, concerning the distinctions of greatness and beauty: "*They are indeed ideas of a very different nature; one being founded on pain, the other on pleasure.*" (Ibid.) Having referred to the opinions of this truly great man, upon a subject so interesting to every reflecting mind, it may not be unseasonable to insert here a brief comparison between the theories of LONGINUS and BURKE. There appears to be as much difference between them, as between mechanism and intellect; between the operations of a piece of clock-work, and those of human reason. LONGINUS directs us to the *effects* of the sublime; BURKE points out its *causes*. LONGINUS teaches us to seek for the sublime *without us*; BURKE, to create it *within ourselves*. LONGINUS views it in *its broad and well-known channel*; BURKE conducts us to *its source*.

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of situation. There have been persons, in almost all the ages which have elapsed since the PYRAMIDS were erected, who have retired from a view of them under very opposite sensations: the ideas excited in their minds, have been those of the most dignified simplicity; of miraculous power; and of duration, so perpetual, that, if it were permitted to compare a result of human labour with the immortality which is of Almighty origin, we should say of them, that they belong to an Eternity, "WHICH WAS, AND IS, AND IS TO COME."

As soon as we landed, we met several officers from *India*, belonging to the sixty-first regiment, then stationed in the Isle of *Rhouda*, in the *Nile*; where the *Indian* army was encamped. They had been riding upon asses, to CAIRO. We profited by their return, to hire the same animals, with their drivers, in order to be conducted to the house of the *Reis Effendi*. The *Reis* understood something of the *English* language, and spoke *French* remarkably well. He had been in *England*; and had written a work upon the manufactures, manners, customs, and laws of *Great Britain*. Of this curious manuscript we could never obtain a sight; although it had been often sold, among the other manu-

Visit to the *Reis Effendi*.

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scripts, by the booksellers in *Caïro* and *Constantinople*. Perhaps the *Reis* did not choose, at this time, to make our countrymen acquainted with his sentiments upon such subjects. He told us, he found every thing very good in *London*, especially veal and cider; but that nothing was cheap. We delivered to him a letter from the *Capudan Pasha;* and he promised to render to us all the service in his power. His *janissaries* conducted us, at our request, to Colonel *Holloway*, who, with Major *Hope*, and other officers of the artillery, were quartered in a large building, where the *French* Members of the *Institute* held their sittings, during the time they were in possession of *Caïro*. Having presented our letters to the Colonel, we were received by him with great politeness, and were afterwards indebted to him for every civility it was in his power to shew to us. He introduced us to Dr. *Wittman*, who has since published an account of his travels; and undertook to forward our letters to *England*, and to present us to the *Grand Vizir*. In the court belonging to the house where these officers resided, were several interesting articles of antiquity, which had been abandoned by the *French*, upon the surrender of the city. Among them, was the *stêlê* of *porphyry* which is now in the

House of the *French Institute.*

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Vestibule of the University Library at *Cambridge*. Colonel *Holloway* kindly permitted us to remove this to *England*. We placed it in the prow of our *djerm*; thereby giving to the vessel the appearance of a gun-boat, to awe the pirates upon the river, during our subsequent voyage, in returning to *Rosetta*. There were also in this court certain fragments of *Egyptian* sculpture, formed of the substance commonly called *Antient basaltes*; which is a variety of *trap*, exceedingly compact, and susceptible of a very high polish. But the most remarkable relique of the whole collection, since unaccountably neglected, (for it is, in all probability, still lying where we left it,) was a very large slab, covered with an *inscription*, in the *Hieroglyphic*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Greek* characters; exactly similar to the famous *trilinguar* stone now in the *British Museum*[1].

(1) Its being left in *Egypt* is a circumstance wholly unaccountable. It was once Colonel *Holloway*'s intention to have allowed us also the privilege of conveying this interesting piece of antiquity to our own country. We did not afterwards discover the reason which prevented the fulfilment of this liberal design; and we were too much indebted to his politeness and hospitality to attribute it to any other cause than a desire to ensure its safe transportation, by entrusting it to men better provided with means for its removal. But, as it still remains in *Cairo*, some notice should be taken of it, that measures may be adopted to prevent its being finally lost. It should also be added, that the *inscriptions* upon this stone are much effaced. The *Greek* characters

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Upon the following day, *Thursday, August* the *thirteenth,* we again visited the *Reis Effendi;* who promised us an escort to the *Pyramids,* and said that a day should be appointed for our presentation to the *Vizir,* at this time in *Caïro.*

Jewel Market.

Afterward, we visited the *bazars,* expecting to obtain from the *jewellers'* shops of this city some of the precious *minerals* of the EAST, at a reasonable rate. Not even a single specimen, worth notice, could be procured. The *French* had bought up almost every thing; and perhaps the frequent disturbances, in the city, had caused the concealment of every valuable commodity. Among the *goldsmiths* we found only two antique *intaglio gems;* and a few *medals* of very little value; such as large copper coins of the *Ptolemies.* The cotton shawls manufactured in *England* would find a ready sale in this place. They asked two hundred *piastres* even for old *turbans* which had been mended. In the fruit-market we saw fresh dates, some very fine grapes, and peaches. Sausages were dressed, and sold hot in the streets, as in *London:* but

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characters are so little legible, that the author could not succeed in copying them. But there is a manifest difference between an opportunity offered for this purpose, when exposed to the heat of an open court at *Caïro* in the middle of *August,* and such an examination of the surface of the stone as might take place in a milder climate, with leisure for the undertaking.

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whether the ingredients were of pork, or of any other meat, we did not inquire. To describe the interior of the city would be only to repeat what has been often said of all *Turkish* towns; with this difference, that there is not perhaps upon earth a more dirty metropolis. Every place is covered with dust; and its particles are so minute, that it rises into all the courts and chambers of the city. The streets are destitute of any kind of pavement: they appear like a series of narrow dusty lanes, between gloomy walls. *Europeans* were formerly compelled to walk or to ride upon asses, through these streets; nor had the practice been wholly abandoned when we arrived: although some of our officers appeared occasionally on horseback, many of them ambled about, in their uniforms, upon the donkies let for hire by the *Arabs*. Horses were not easily procured. To ride these, it was first necessary to buy them. And even when riding upon asses, if a favourable opportunity offered, when our military were not in sight, the attendants of the rich *Turks*, running on foot before their horses to clear the away, made every *Christian* descend and walk, until the bearded grandee had passed. We noticed several jugglers, exhibiting their craft in the streets of *Caïro;* bearing in their hands a

Interior of *Caïro.*

Jugglers.

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kind of toy, common in *England*, consisting of a number of pieces of wood, in the shape of playing-cards, strung together, and revolving from top to bottom; such as are called, by children, *trick-track*, and are often painted to display the *Cries of London*. These toys seemed to delight the *Arabs*; who considered them as put together by magic. For the rest of the exhibition, it much resembled the shows of our mountebanks; each party having its *Merry Andrew*, who endured hard kicks and cuffs for the amusement of the populace.

By means of the canal which intersects the city, and was now filled with its muddy water, we visited a great part of *Caïro* in a boat. The prodigious number of gardens give to it so pleasing an appearance, and the trees growing in those gardens are so new to the eyes of a *European*, that, for a moment, he forgets the innumerable abominations of the dirtiest city in the whole world. Many of the most conspi-

Trees.

cuous of these trees have been often described; but not all of them. The most beautiful among them, the *Mimosa Lebbeck*, has not even been mentioned in any account yet published of *Caïro*; which is the more extraordinary, as it grows upon the banks of the canal; and its

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long weeping branches, pendent to the surface of the water, could not escape notice. We brought the seeds of it to the Garden of Natural History at *Cambridge*, where it has since flourished. This plant has been hitherto so little known in *Europe*, that although cultivated in some botanic gardens for more than half a century, it has never been properly recognised. About thirty years ago, Professor *Jacquin*, who received some seeds of it from the *East Indies*, described it as a new species, under the name of *Mimosa speciosa;* and by this name it is still distinguished in the *English* catalogues. It grows promiscuously with the *Gum Arabic* Acacia, or *Mimosa Nilotica:* both of these, and also the *Mimosa Senegal*, are seen adorning the sides of the canal. *Hasselquist* says, that he saw the two last growing wild in the sandy desert, near the antient sepulchres of the *Egyptians*[1]. The *Mimosa Nilotica*, or *Acacia vera*, produces the frankincense. It is gathered in vast quantities, from trees growing near to the most northern bay of the *Red Sea*, at the foot of Mount *Sinaï;* and it is called *Thus*, by the dealers in Egypt, from *Thur* and *Thor*, which is the name of a harbour in that bay; thereby

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Incense.

(1) Travels to the *East*, p. 250. *Lond.* 1776.

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Gum Arabic.

being distinguished from the *Gum Arabic* which comes from *Suez*[1]. These gums, says *Hasselquist*, differ in other particulars besides their localities; the first being limpid and colourless; the latter less pellucid, and of a brown, or dirty yellow colour[2]. We purchased a considerable quantity of the white gum. The fragrant odour diffused in burning it is well known; but its operation, as an enlivener of the spirits, in persons of weak health, does not seem to have been much regarded. Perhaps the pleasing antidote it affords to the effects of foul air in crowded assembly-rooms, may possibly hereafter give it a place among the luxuries of *London* and *Paris*. Hitherto the sacred *Sabæan* odour has been exclusively reserved for the religious ceremonies of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches; and that which was once considered an offering worthy the altars of the most High God, now scarcely obtains any notice. Fifteen hundred years before the *Christian* æra, the ordinances concerning incense[3] were delivered to the leader of the *Jewish* nation; and the history of the most antient *Pagan* rites also bears

(1) Travels to the East, p. 250. *Lond.* 1776.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon." *Exod.* xxx. 1.

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testimony to a similar custom. It seems evident, from the words of sacred Scripture, that the practice of burning incense, among the *Jews*, was introduced with reference to the supposed salutary nature of the exhalation. Immediately following the ordinance for its use, it is stated, that the time of burning it shall be at the dressing and lighting of the lamps[4]; when an offensive smell, thereby created, might probably have pervaded the temple. Whatsoever may have been the cause of its original introduction among the sacrifices, whether of the *Jews* or *Heathens*, its being appropriated to the service of the *Temple* long caused it to be held in superstitious veneration. Many medical properties, which it never possessed, have been attributed to it; and, down to the latest ages, considered as an offering acceptable unto Heaven, it has been celebrated as giving efficacy to prayer, or, in the language of poetry, as wafting to Paradise the orisons of men[5].

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(4) "And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense, every morning: *when he dresseth the lamps*, he shall burn incense upon it. And when Aaron *lighteth the lamps* at even, he shall burn incense upon it; a perpetual incense before the Lord, throughout your generations." *Exod.* xxx. 7, 8.

(5) *Alexander the Great*, after the conquest of *Arabia*, sent a ship laden with *incense* to his preceptor *Leonidas*, for the service of the *temples*: and his early prodigality, in heaping *incense* upon the altars of his country, is noticed by *Pliny*, (*Hist. Nat. lib.* xii. *cap.*

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Plagues of *Egypt*.

The mercury in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer seemed at this time fixed. It remained at 90° for several days, without the smallest perceptible change. Almost every *European* suffered from inflammation of the eyes. Many were troubled with cutaneous disorders. The prickly heat was very common. This was attributed to drinking the muddy water of the *Nile*, the inhabitants having no other. Their mode of purifying it, in a certain degree, is by rubbing the inside of the water-vessels with bruised almonds: this precipitates a portion of the mud, but it is never quite clear[1]. Many persons were afflicted with sores upon the skin, which were called "*boils of the Nile*;" and dysenterical complaints were universal. A singular species of

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cap. 14. *tom.* II. p. 18. *L. Bat.* 1635.) *Aubrey*, in his "*Hermetick Philosophy*," printed for the second time, in *London*, in 1721, p. 172, says, "Good Spirits are delighted and allured by sweet perfumes, as rich *gums*, *frankincense*, *salts*, &c. which was the reason that the priests of the *Gentiles*, and also the *Christians*, used them in their *temples* and *sacrifices*." It is a curious fact, that this superstitious notion, respecting a fragrant gum, should also exist in *South America*. The *pastillas* of *Lima*, used by the priests to destroy the influence of *Evil Spirits*, consists of a gum which is used as incense when High Mass is solemnized at their altars.

(1) The cause of this chemical agency in the oil of the *Amygdalus communis* has not been explained; owing, perhaps, to our ignorance of the chemical constituents of this fruit, which has not been subjected to a regular analysis.

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lizard made its appearance in every chamber, having circular membranes at the extremity of its feet, which gave it such tenacity, that it walked upon window-panes of glass, or upon the surfaces of pendent mirrors [2]. This revolting sight was common to every apartment, whether in the houses of the rich or of the poor. At the same time, such a plague of flies covered all things with their swarms, that it was impossible to eat without hiring persons to stand by every table with feathers, or flappers, to drive them away. Liquor could not be poured into a glass; the mode of drinking was, by keeping the mouth of every bottle covered until the moment it was applied to the lips; and instantly covering it with the palm of the hand, when removing it to offer to any one else. The utmost attention to cleanliness, by a frequent change of every article of wearing apparel, could not repel the attacks of vermin which seemed to infest even the air of the place. A gentleman made his appearance, before a party he had invited to dinner, with lice swarming

(2) A similar membrane terminates each foot of a common fly; beneath which, a vacuum takes place, and the animal maintains a footing upon ceilings, owing to the pressure of the external air upon this membrane.

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upon his clothes. The only explanation he could give as to the cause, was, that he had sat for a short time in one of the boats upon the canal. Perhaps objection may be made to a statement, even of facts, which refers to no pleasing theme; but the author does not conceive it possible to give *Englishmen* a correct notion of the trials to which they will be exposed in visiting this country, without calling some things by their names. The insects of the *Nile* are many of them also common to the *Don:* other instances of similarity in the two rivers have been before noticed[1]. The gardens of *Caïro* are filled with turtle-doves, whose melancholy notes suit the solitary disposition of the *Turks.* Their national music has the same plaintive character. The houses of the city are larger and better built than those of *Constantinople;* the foundations being of stone, and the superstructure of bricks and mortar; but they have the same gloomy appearance externally. The interior consists principally of timber. The *French* had pulled down many houses, in order to obtain fuel: owing to this, and to the commotions that had taken place, a considerable part of the city appeared to be in

(1) See Vol. I. Chap. XIII. p. 355. 8vo. edition.

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ruins. The inhabitants generally ride upon *mules* or *asses:* the latter are so active in this country, and possess such extraordinary strength, that for all purposes of labour, even for carrying heavy burthens across the sandy desert, they are next in utility to the *camel,* and will bear work better than *horses.* The horse in *Egypt* is rather as an animal of parade, than for essential service. The vast army of the *Wahabees* in the desert were said to be mounted upon *camels* and upon *asses.* The population of *Caïro* consisted at this time of *Arabs* and *Mamlukes,* for the chief part; and, besides these, were *Copts, Jews,* and *Greeks,* together with the adventitious multitude caused by the events of war, which had filled the streets of the city with the *Sepoys* and various casts of *India,* with *Turks, Italians, French* and *English* soldiers, merchants, and adventurers of every description. The *Indian* army, under General *Baird,* was encamped in the Isle of *Rhouda,* and presented the first military spectacle it is possible to conceive; offering a striking contrast to the appearance of the troops from *England,* which were encamped upon the *Alexandrian* Plain. The *Indian* army, in possession of abundant supplies, and having all the comforts which wealth and power could bestow, might be considered rather as an encampment

British Army from India.

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of powerful princes than of private men. The tents of its subalterns were superior to the marquees of general-officers in the *English* army, where the Commander-in-chief lived as the poorest soldier, and wretchedness and privation were the standing orders of the day[1]. Every morning, at sun-rise, as in Lord *Hutchinson's* army, a gun was fired, and the whole line of the troops from *India* were under arms, amounting to 3000 men. At this hour, we often resorted to the Isle of *Rhouda*, to view the magnificent parade[2]. An immense grove of the most enor-

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(1) The luxury and pomp of the *Indian* army may be conceived, by simply stating the fact, that glass lustres, manufactured in *London*, exported to *India*, and thence conveyed, after a voyage up the *Red Sea*, upon the backs of *camels* across the desert from *Cosseir* to the *Nile*, were suspended in the audience-pavilion of the Commander-in-chief. Breakfasting with a lieutenant of the sixty-first regiment, we were regaled with white bread, and fresh butter, made upon the spot for the occasion, (which perhaps had never been seen before in *Egypt*,) fruit, cream, tea, coffee, and chocolate. The impression made by external splendor, upon men characterized as are the inhabitants of the *Turkish* empire, is more effectual for the advancement of our political interests in the *East*, than the operations of war. An ignorant *Moslem* attaches higher ideas of power to the appearance of wealth, than to any effect of military strength.

(2) The author may here notice the visit he made, upon one of these occasions, to the *Mikias*, or *Nilometer*, upon this Isle, in company with Mr. *Hammer*. As the interior of this building was long concealed from the observation of *Europeans*, it may be proper to mention, that the roof is supported by *pointed arches* erected early in the ninth century. Mr. *Hammer* copied some *Cuphic* inscriptions upon the

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mous *sycamore* fig-trees, larger than any of our forest trees[3], secured almost the whole army from the rays of the sun. Troops in such a state of military perfection, or better suited for active service, were never seen, not even in the famous parade of the chosen Ten-thousand belonging to *Buonaparté*'s legions, which he was so vain of displaying, before the present war, in the front of the *Thuilleries* at *Paris*. Not an unhealthy soldier was to be seen. The *English* inured to the climate of *India* considered that of *Egypt* as temperate in its effects; and the *sepoys* seemed as fond of the *Nile* as of the *Ganges*. After General *Baird* had inspected the line, the *sepoys* were marched to *Caïro*, where, having piled their arms before one of the principal *mosques*, they all joined the *Moslems* in their

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the walls, stating, that the building was constructed by the Caliph *Al-Mamoun*, in the year 211 of the *Hégira*, answering to the year 833 of our æra. The same fact is attested by the observations of *Le Pere*, as read to the *French Institute* at *Caïro*, *January* the 11th, 1799. (*Voy. Decade Egyptienne, tom.* II. *p.* 278. *au Kaïre, An* VIII *de la République.*) For the rest, the building has been recently so often described, that it was not thought necessary to give a particular account of it.

(3) The Editor of *Hasselquist*'s Travels has mistaken his measure of *circumference* for *diameter*:—"*This is a huge tree, the stem being often fifty feet thick.*" See *Hasselquist*'s Travels, p. 259. *Lond.* 1766. It cannot surely be intended that the *sycamore-trees* of *Egypt* were nearly nineteen yards in diameter.

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devotions—to the surprise and satisfaction of the *Turks* and *Arabs*, who speedily circulated a report over *Caïro*, that the *English* army was filled with soldiers belonging to the *Faithful*. These men were all volunteers; and no instance had ever occurred of their being conveyed so far from their native land at any former period.

Dinner given by the Commander-in-Chief.

A dinner given by General *Baird* to all the *English* officers, and others of our countrymen in *Caïro*, took place while the camp remained upon the Isle of *Rhouda*. We were invited: and the scene was so extraordinary, that it ought to be noticed. The dinner was given in the pavilion before mentioned: this was illuminated by glass lustres suspended from an enormous *bamboo* cane, sustaining the inner covering of the tent; and by wax candles in glass cylinders. *English* porter, roasted pigs, and other *English* fare, together with port, claret, and Madeira wines, appeared upon the table. The dinner was cooked by *Indian* servants, upon the sand near the tent; and a view of the extraordinary cleanliness observed by these cooks, as well as of their peculiar habits, were among the most curious parts of the exhibition. Having drawn a line around them, they suffered no person to pass this boundary. The rules of their *cast*

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enjoined that none of the cooking vessels should be touched, except by their own hands. After dinner, the officers smoked the *hooka:* every pipe had its peculiar attendant upon the outside of the tent; the long flexible tubes alone being brought under the sides of the pavilion to those seated at table. The servants in waiting were principally negroes, dressed in white turbans with muslin jackets, but without stockings or shoes. The upper part of the pavilion was adorned with beautiful net-work; the hangings were of green silk, and the floor covered with *Indian* mats. The tables were of polished mahogany; and the company present in full uniform;—an association of things so incongruous with the natural horrors and barbarism of the country, upon the border of an interminable desert, and in the midst of such a river as the *Nile,* where persons from *India* and from *England* were met to banquet together, that perhaps no similar result of commerce and of conquest is ever likely to occur again, in any part of the habitable globe. Upon this occasion, we heard the extraordinary fact, maintained and confirmed by indisputable testimony, that certain *Brahmins* who had accompanied the *Indian* army in its march from the *Red Sea* to the *Nile,* from *Cosseir* to *Kené,* saw at *Dendera* the representation of

Discovery made by *Brahmins* in *Upper Egypt.*

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their God *Vishnú* among the antient sculpture of the place[1]; and were with difficulty restrained by their officers from assaulting the *Arabs*, on account of the neglected state in which *his* temple, as *they* supposed, was suffered to remain. The officers of General *Baird*'s army spoke highly of the accuracy of *Bruce*'s observations; and the General himself assured us, that he considered *Great Britain* as indebted to *Bruce*'s valuable Chart of the *Red Sea*, for the safety of the transports employed in conveying the *British* forces.

Examination of an *Abyssinian* concerning *Bruce*'s Travels.

At this time there happened to arrive in *Cairo* an *Abyssinian* Dean, a negro, who had undertaken his immense journey for religious purposes, and then resided in the monastery belonging to the *Propaganda* Friars[2]. The author had been often engaged in noting, from this man's account of his country, some information respecting the state of Christianity in *Abyssinia*; and had purchased of him a manuscript copy of

(1) It were to be wished that some officer belonging to the *Indian* army, who was present upon that occasion, would specify what particular figure the *Brahmins* conceived to be a representation of *Vishnú*.

(2) There are two monasteries in *Cairo*; one called the *Terra Sancta*, and the other the *Propaganda*, Monastery.

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the Gospel of St. *John*, together with certain prayers in the *Abyssinian* language: these manuscripts are now in the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*. As General *Baird* had a copy of *Bruce*'s Travels then in his possession, and was kind enough to allow us the use of it, a better opportunity might rarely offer of submitting *Bruce*'s narrative to the test of a comparison with the evidence afforded by a native of *Abyssinia*. We therefore appointed a day for this purpose; and sent an invitation to the *Abyssinian* Dean. In order to make the inquiry as public as possible, we also requested the attendance of Mr. *Hamilton*, secretary of the Earl of *Elgin*, of Dr. *Wittman*, and of Mr. *Hammer*, a celebrated *Oriental* scholar, during the investigation. One of the *Propaganda* Friars served us as our interpreter with the *Abyssinian* priest. It was at first disputed whether any mention should be made of *Bruce*, or not; but at length we resolved that a series of questions should be put from *Bruce*'s work, without any mention being made of him, or any allusion to his travels in *Abyssinia*. The sight of his volumes on the table were not likely to offer any clue, respecting the purport of our inquiry, to an *Æthiopian* who had never seen a printed quarto before in his life, and to whom the language in which it was written was

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altogether unknown. His testimony, therefore, as a native of *Abyssinia*, to the accuracy of *Bruce*'s description of the country, will not be disregarded; and the following result of our conversation with him may terminate this chapter[1]

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(1) There has not been an example, in the annals of literature, of more unfair and disgraceful hostility than that which an intolerant and invidious party too successfully levelled, during a considerable period, against the writings of *Bruce*. Soon after the publication of his "*Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*," several copies of the work were sold in *Dublin* as waste paper, in consequence of the calumnies circulated against the author's veracity. This happened in the year 1791. In the year 1800, Mr. *John Antes*, of *Fulnec* in *Yorkshire*, published a small volume of "*Observations on Egypt;*" a work not less remarkable for its fidelity and genuine worth, than for the little notice it received. Speaking of *Bruce*, that author observes: "When Mr. *Bruce* returned from *Abyssinia*, I was at *Grand Caïro*. I had the pleasure of his company for three months, almost every day: and having, at that time, myself an idea of penetrating into *Abyssinia*, I was very inquisitive about that country, on hearing many things from him which seemed almost incredible to me. I used to ask his *Greek* servant *Michael* (*a simple fellow, incapable of any invention*) about the same circumstances, and MUST SAY THAT HE COMMONLY AGREED WITH HIS MASTER IN THE CHIEF POINTS." (*See Observat. on the Mann. and Cust. of the Egyptians, by John Antes, Esq. p.* 17. *Lond.* 1800.) Many stronger testimonies in favour of *Bruce*'s accuracy have also at different times been adduced, particularly by Mr. *Browne* (*See Pref. to his Travels*); and the work has consequently risen very considerably in the public estimation. Some travellers, indeed, have attempted to invalidate certain of his assertions, which, after all, are not of much moment, whether they be true or false: such, for example, as the circumstance related by *Bruce* of the part he took in the wars of the country; and of the practice he witnessed of taking flesh from a living animal as an article of food: this last has, however, now been fully confirmed by the statement of the native priest, as given above. It is probable

Our first questions related to the place of his birth; and of his usual residence before he left *Abyssinia*. In answer to these, he stated, that he was born at *Gellebedda*[2], in the province of TIGRÈ, whose capital is *Adowa*[3], distant twenty-five or thirty days from the *Nile*, and sixteen or seventeen from *Massuah* upon the *Red Sea*; that his usual place of residence, and to which he should return, after leaving *Caïro*, was a village about fifteen days' journey from *Gondar*. We asked him what kind of coin was circulated in his native province: he said that *fossil salt* was used in *Tigrè* as a substitute for money[4].

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probable that *Bruce* would never have encountered the opposition he met with, if his writings had not been characterized by offending *egotism*. Baron *De Tott*'s work experienced a similar fate, from the same cause; and has similarly obtained, at last, the consideration to which, by its great merit, it is justly entitled.

(2) This place is mentioned in Mr. *Salt*'s Narrative, as published by Lord *Valentia*, and written GULLYBUDDA. (*See vol.* III. *p.* 71. *Lond.* 1809.) He describes it as "a place of considerable extent and population."

(3) *Bruce* also describes *Adowa*, as being the capital of TIGRÈ. A view of the town accompanies Mr. *Salt*'s Narrative, in Lord *Valentia*'s Travels, vol. III. p. 76. *Lond.* 1809.

(4) Mr. *Salt*, speaking of a manufacture of cloth at *Adowa*, says, it circulates as money through the country; but he adds, "Each piece is about sixteen cubits long, and one and three quarters wide: its value is *thirty pieces of salt*, or one dollar." *Valentia's Travels, vol.* III. *p.* 78. *Lond.* 1809. Also in *vol.* III. *p.* 54, "The small currency (at *Antalow*) consisted of wedges of rock-salt, each weighing two or three pounds, and estimated at 1-30th of a dollar."

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Fidelity of *Bruce's* Observations confirmed.

Our next inquiry related to the long-disputed fact, of a practice among the *Abyssinians* of cutting from a live animal slices of its flesh, as an article of food, without putting it to death. This *Bruce* affirms that he witnessed, in his journey from *Massuah* to *Axum*[1]. The *Abyssinian*, answering, informed us, that *the soldiers of the country, during their marauding excursions, sometimes maim cows after this manner; taking slices from their bodies, as a favourite article of food, without putting them to death at the time: and that during the banquets of the Abyssinians, raw meat, esteemed delicious throughout the country, is frequently taken from an ox or a cow, in such a state that the fibres are in motion; and that the attendants continue to cut slices until the animal dies.* This answer exactly corresponds with *Bruce*'s Narrative: he expressly states that the persons whom he saw were *soldiers*[2], and the animal *a cow*[3]. Such a coincidence could hardly have happened,

(1) *Bruce's Travels, vol.* III. *p.* 142. *Edinb.* 1790. "When I first mentioned this in *England*, I was told by my friends it was not believed. I asked the reason of this disbelief, and was answered, that people who had never been out of their own country, and others well acquainted with the manners of the world, *for they had travelled as far as France*, had agreed the thing was *impossible*; and therefore it was so." *Ibid. p.* 144.

(2) *Bruce's* Travels, ibid. p. 142.

(3) Ibid.

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unless the practice really existed. We inquired if other animals were thus treated; and were answered in the negative. *Mutton* is always boiled; and *veal* is never eaten, in any way[4]. In times of famine alone the inhabitants eat boiled *blood*.

Among other absurd accusations brought against *Bruce*, a very popular charge at one time was, that some of the plants engraved in his work never existed in nature, but were the offspring of his own fertile imagination. We therefore resolved next to exhibit the engravings to our *Abyssinian*, and desire him to name the plants, and to describe their properties. It was impossible that this man should read, and much less comprehend, the *Abyssinian* names which *Bruce*'s engraver had inscribed upon the margin of those plates.

The first plates offered to his notice were those which represent the *Sassa*[5]. He recognised the plants; but knew nothing of the name *Bruce* had given to them; and denied that any

(4) This agrees with the account published by Lord *Valentia*, from Mr. *Salt*'s Journal. *See Valentia's Travels, vol.* III. *p.* 159. *Lond.* 1809.

(5) *Bruce*'s Travels, Appendix, p. 28.

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gum was produced by them. The inquiry proceeded more successfully when the next were shewn to him. He named the following instantly; and gave the same account of them that *Bruce* had done; namely, *Ergett Dimmo; Ergett el Krone; Ensete; Kol-Quall; Gir Gir; Kantuffa;* &c. all of whose appellations he pronounced exactly as *Bruce* had written them. The *Ergett el Krone,* he said, grew near to the Lake TZANA, and in every part of *Abyssinia;* but that it was of no use to the inhabitants. He described the leaves of the *Ensete* as resembling those of the *Banana;* but the plants as yielding no fruit. They boil the root of it, as a garden vegetable, with mutton. The *Kol-Quall* he named instantly; saying, that, on beating it, it yields a quantity of milk, which is poisonous, but may be used as a cement, capable of joining two pieces of stone. Its smaller branches, when dry, are used for candles; and its wood serves for timber, in building houses. It produces no gum[1]. *Bruce* relates all this; and adds, that upon cutting two branches of the *Kol-Quall* with his sabre, not less than four *English* gallons of the milk issued out; which

(1) Therefore not the *Euphorbia officinarum* of Linnæus. *See Bruce's Trav. Append. p.* 44.

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was so caustic, that although he washed the sabre immediately, the stain never left it[2]. We were amused by the eager quickness with which our *Abyssinian* recognised and named the *Kantuffa*; telling us all that *Bruce* relates of its thorny nature, as if he had his work by heart. The *Balessan*, or *Balsam-tree*, was entirely unknown to him. He had seen the *Papyrus* in *Emhârá*, in the province of *Lebo*, growing in marshy lands. Concerning the other plants engraved in *Bruce*'s work, his observations agreed with those of *Bruce*, with very little exception. He denied that the mode of eating raw meat was by wrapping it up in cakes made of *Teff*. These cakes, he said, were used for plates, or as bread only for women and sick persons. The *Abyssinians* do not make *beer* from *Teff*, according to his account, but from a plant called *Selleh*. BRUCE mentions different sorts of *Teff*[3], of which, perhaps, *Selleh* may be one. The *Abyssinian* concurred with *Bruce*, in attributing the frequency of worm-disorders, in his country, to the practice of eating raw flesh[4].

(2) Ibid. p. 43.

(3) See *Bruce*'s Travels, vol. III. p. 280. *Edinb.* 1790.

(4) *Bruce* entertained the same opinion. See *Travels, Append. p.* 80. *Edinb.* 1790.

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CHAP. II. This is considered always as a luxury; and therefore the priests abstain from it. In his own village, he said, the soldiers and principal people prefer raw meat to every other diet; that before he became a priest, he had himself eaten much of it; that he considered it as very savoury when the animal from which it is taken is fat and healthy. He professed himself to be ignorant of the virtue ascribed by *Bruce* to the *Wooginoos*[1], now called *Brucea antidysenterica;* although he knew the plant well, and said it cured all disorders caused by magic: but he verified all that *Bruce* had related of the *Cusso*[2], or *Banksia Abyssinica;* and added, that it was customary to drink an infusion made from it every two months, as a preventive against the disorder noticed by *Bruce.* When shewn the *Walkuffa*, he mentioned a curious circumstance, which *Bruce* has not related; namely, that the bark of this plant serves the *Abyssinians* as a substitute for soap. He knew nothing of the word *Carat*, as a name said by *Bruce* to be given, in the south of *Abyssinia*, to the bean of the *Kuara*-tree, and used in weighing gold.

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(1) See *Bruce*'s Travels, Appendix, p. 69.
(2) Ibid. p. 73.

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Having thus discussed the *plants*, we directed his attention to the *quadrupeds*, *birds*, and other branches of natural history. His answers gave us as much reason to be convinced of *Bruce*'s accuracy in this, as in the former part of his work. It would take up too much of the reader's attention to detail all the evidence we collected for this purpose. He added, that the *rhinoceros* was called *Chartiet* by the *Abyssinians*; and said that its horn, used for lining the interior of drinking-vessels, is considered as an antidote to poison. When the engraving representing the *Ashkoko* was placed before him, he recognised the animal, and related the circumstance mentioned by *Bruce*[3] of its being considered as unclean, both by *Christians* and by *Mohammedans*. Speaking of its name, he made a curious distinction; saying that it is called *Ashkoko* in the *Court language*, but *Gehre* in the *vulgar tongue*.

If there be a part of *Bruce*'s work which is apparently fabulous, from its marvellous nature, it is the account he has given of that destructive fly, the *Zimb*, or *Tsaltsalya*[4]; yet in the history of this insect, as in every other instance,

(3) See *Bruce*'s Travels, Appendix, p. 145.
(4) Ibid. p. 188. See also vol. I. p. 388.

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the testimony of the *Abyssinian* Dean strictly confirmed all that *Bruce* had written upon the subject. He told us, that horses and cows were its principal victims; that there were not many of those insects in his native province; but that he had heard of armies being destroyed in consequence of this terrible scourge. We questioned him concerning the plant which is said to render persons invulnerable to serpents or scorpions, merely by chewing its leaves. He replied, that he knew the plant well, but had forgotten its name; that it resembled hemp, and that he had often made use of it to prove its virtues; but he added, that it must be chewed at the time of touching the serpent or the scorpion.

Previous to the introduction of any inquiry concerning the source of the *Nile*, we shewed to him *Bruce*'s map of the Lake *Tzana*, and of the surrounding country. At this he was highly gratified. He knew all the places mentioned in the territories of *Belessen*, *Begemder*, *Gojam*, and *Agows;* and, attempting to shew us the situation of GONDAR, actually pointed out the spot marked by *Bruce* for the locality of that city.

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The *Nile* (which before its junction with the Lake *Tzana* he called *Aleaoui*) he described as having but *one source*[1], in a marshy spot, upon the top of a mountain, about five or six miles from the lake, and upon its south-eastern side. He had not been there himself, but had often visited that side of the lake. There are many villages in the neighbourhood of the place. The inhabitants are all *Christians;* but they entertain no veneration for the spot, neither are any honours whatsoever paid to the source of the river. There are, indeed, many springs which are medicinal, and said to be the gift of certain saints; but he had never heard that the fountain of the *Nile* was one of these.

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(1) *Bruce*'s account of the origin of this river will perhaps be found, after all, more correct than any we can obtain, even from the *Abyssinians* themselves, who do not reside near enough to the spot to have made personal observation. Mr. *Salt* mentions the little reliance he could place in the various accounts given to him upon this subject. "When I found," says he, "that I must give up all hopes of penetrating beyond the *Tacazza*, I took every occasion to make inquiries, of such persons as were likely to give me any intelligence, respecting the *Nile*. Their accounts generally agreed with each other; but it appeared to me that they spoke from what they had heard, and not from personal knowledge. *Its situation near the village of Geesh; the marshiness of the plain; the elevation of the spot whence it flows above the surrounding country; its circuit from Gojam; were points familiar to them all: but they differed, considerably, as to the number of the fountains from which it springs; some speaking of three, others of four, and one person of five.*" *Lord Valentia's Trav. vol.* III. *p.* 160.

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Here we terminated our investigation, as far as it related to *Bruce*'s account of *Abyssinia*; and the result of it left a conviction upon our minds, not only of the general fidelity of that author, but that no other book of travels, published so long after the events took place which he has related, and exposed to a similar trial, would have met with equal testimony of its truth and accuracy[1].

(1) In the interesting memoir of Mr. *Salt*'s Journey in *Abyssinia*, as published by Lord *Valentia*, its author has assailed the veracity of *Bruce*, in a manner which may be lamented by those who hold Mr. *Salt*'s Narrative in the highest estimation: and for this reason; that, with an evident disposition to dispute the correctness of *Bruce*'s representation, no writer has contributed more effectually to the establishment of *Bruce*'s credit. Mr. *Salt* speaks in the most positive terms of the *accuracy* with which *Bruce* has detailed his historical information. (*See Lord Valentia's Travels, vol.* III. *pp.* 163. 209. *&c. &c. Lond.* 1809.) He also mentions the astonishment of the natives at his own knowledge of their history: (*Ibid. p.* 227.) and, above all, that he was considered by them as a superior being, when he exhibited *Bruce*'s drawings of *Gondar*. (*Ibid.*) In many other instances he bears ample testimony to *Bruce*'s accuracy. (*See vol.* II. *p.* 460. 480. *&c.*; *vol.* III. *pp.* 163. 211. 217. *See also the instances adduced in the Edinb. Encyclop. vol.* V. *Part* I. *pp.* 9, 10.) When to all this is added the evidence afforded by the celebrated *Browne* (*See Preface to his Travels*), in support of the few facts which are questioned by Mr. *Salt*, and the opinion given of his work by the Commander-in-chief of the *British* army sent from *India* by the *Red Sea*, as before alluded to, we may surely consider the writings of this illustrious traveller to be placed beyond the reach of cavil: and we ought to agree with that profound scholar, (*See Vincent's Periplus of the Erythr. Sea, p.* 93.) who, maintaining that *Bruce*'s work "bears throughout internal marks of veracity," considered it to be a duty "NOT TO TREAT WITH INGRATITUDE THOSE WHO EXPLORE THE DESERT FOR OUR INFORMATION."

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Tombs of the Sultans.

CHAP. III.

GRAND CAIRO.

Arabic *Language, as spoken in* Egypt — *Dress of the Women in* Cairo — *State of Society* — *Houses* — *Gardens* — *Ceremony of Ululation in honour of the Dead* — *Exaggerated Descriptions of the Country* — *Supposed Sacrifice of a Virgin to the* Nile — *Book Market* — *Antient Medals in circulation* — *Custom of the* Arabs *in passing a Bridge* — *Appearance of Women in the Streets* — *Enormities practised by the* Turks — *Extortions* — *Discovery of a curious Manuscript* — *Citadel* — *Pointed Arches* — *Interesting Inscription* — Mosaic *Painting* — *Present State of the Art* — Joseph's *Well* — *Origin of the Citadel* — *View from the Ramparts.*

ANY *Englishman* hearing a party of *Egyptian Arabs* in conversation, and being ignorant of their language, would suppose they were quar- CHAP. III.

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Arabic Language, as spoken in *Egypt*.

relling. The *Arabic*, as spoken by *Arabs*, is more guttural even than the *Welsh*; but the dialect of *Egypt* appeared to us to be particularly harsh. It is always spoken with a vehemence of gesticulation, and loudness of tone, which is quite a contrast to the stately sedate manner of speaking among the *Turks*: we were constantly impressed with a notion that the *Arabs*, in conversation, were quarrelling. More than once we ordered the interpreter to interfere, and to pacify them; when it appeared that we were mistaken, and that nothing was further from their feelings, at the time, than anger. The effect is not so unpleasing to the ear, when *Arab* women converse; although the gesticulation be nearly the same. Signor *Rosetti*[1], whose hospitality to strangers has been celebrated by every traveller in *Egypt* during nearly half a century, introduced us to a *Venetian* family, of the name of *Pini*[2], in which there were many beautiful young women, and with

(1) Mr. *Bruce* mentions him (*Trav. vol.* I. *p.* 30. *Edinb.* 1790.) under the name of "*Carlo Rosetti, a Venetian merchant, a young man of capacity and intrigue.*" *Bruce* was in *Cairo* in the beginning of *July*, 1768. Signor *Rosetti* told us he well remembered *Bruce*, and entertained no doubt as to the truth of the narrative which he published concerning his travels.

(2) "There is also at *Cairo* a *Venetian* Consul, and a house of that nation called *Pini*, all excellent people." *Bruce's Trav. vol.* I. *p.* 26.

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whom we had frequent opportunity of hearing the *Arabic*, as spoken by the most polished females of the city. The dress of those young ladies was much more elegant than any female costume we had before observed in the *East*, and it was entirely borrowed from the Antients. A zone placed immediately below the bosom served to confine a loose robe, open in front, so as to display a pair of rich pantaloons. The feet were covered with embroidered slippers, but the ankle and instep were naked; and round the lower part of the leg, above the ankle, they wore cinctures of massive gold, resembling the golden cincture discovered in a tomb near the *Cimmerian Bosporus*, and represented in a former part of this work[3].

Dress of the Women in *Cairo*.

Denon speaks of the pleasurable sensations daily excited by the delicious temperature of *Cairo*, causing *Europeans*, who arrive with the intention of spending a few months in the place, to remain during the rest of their lives, without ever persuading themselves to leave it. Few persons, however, with whom we associated, were disposed to acquiesce in the opinion of this very amiable writer. Those who are

State of Society.

(3) See Vol. II. Chap. II. p. 72. Octavo edition.

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desirous of uninterrupted repose, or who are able to endure the invariable dulness which prevails in every society to which strangers are admitted, may, perhaps, tolerate, without murmuring, a short residence in the midst of this dull and dirty city. The effect, whether it be of climate, or of education, or of government, is the same among all the settlers in *Egypt*, except the *Arabs;* namely, a disposition to exist without exertion of any kind; to pass whole days upon beds and cushions; smoking, and counting beads. This is what *Maillet* termed *Le vrai génie Egyptienne*[1]; and that it may be acquired by residing among the native inhabitants of *Caïro*, is evident from the appearance exhibited by *Europeans* who have passed some years in the city.

Upon our first coming, we had no other place of lodging than what our *djerm* afforded. This was stationed, during the day, at *Bulâc*, and it was guarded by our faithful *Arabs*. Every night these men moved our vessel over to the Isle of *Rhouda*, and anchored close to the camp of the *Indian* army, with a view to avoid the

(1) Déscription de l'*Egypte*, tom. II. p. 220. à la *Haye*, 1740.

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mice, flies, vermin, and dust, which infested us from the quay, and prevented our rest. But, after a short time, we procured a large house, which had been inhabited by *French* officers, in a very populous part of the city, near to the residence of Signor *Rosetti*. This greatly increased our facility of seeing the city, and of observing the manners of its inhabitants.

Houses.

The best houses in *Caïro* correspond with the description given in a former part of this work, of the palace of an *Armenian* merchant, at *Nicotia* in *Cyprus*[2]. The taste shewn in decorating their apartments is of the kind called *Arabesque:* this, although early introduced into *England* from the East, is not *Saracenical,* but *Egyptian*[3]. It is a style which the *Greeks* themselves adopted; and it was received amongst the *Romans* in the time of *Augustus*. Where the windows are glazed, which more frequently exhibit an open lattice-work, they are ornamented with coloured glass; representing landscapes and animals, particularly the lion, which seemed to be a favourite subject in works of

(2) See Part II. Sect. 1. Chap. xi. of these Travels.

(3) See the observations of *Denon, Trav. in Egypt,* vol. I. p. 211. *Lond.* 1803.

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this sort. No writer has paid any attention to the origin of the painted glass in *Caïro;* yet the glaziers of this city seem to have preserved an art, which is supposed to be imperfectly known in *Europe.*

Gardens.

From the open terraces in many of the principal houses, and from the flat roofs common to all of them, the view is extended over the numerous gardens of the city. But every thing is disfigured, and rendered uncomfortable, by dust: all the foliage of the trees is covered with it; and the boasted vegetation of *Caïro,* (instead of displaying that pleasing verdure with which *Europeans,* and particularly *Englishmen,* fill their imaginations, when reading descriptions of a city crowded with groves and gardens), rather exhibits the uninviting and uniform colour of the desert.

Ceremony of *Ululation* in honour of the *Dead.*

During the first evening after our removal to our new habitation, we were serenaded by a species of vocal melody, which we had never heard before. It commenced about sun-set; and was continued, with little intermission, not only throughout the night, but during many succeeding nights and days. We were first doubtful whether the sounds we heard were expressions of joy or of lamentation. A sort of chorus, interrupted by screams, yet regulated by the

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beating of tambourines, now swelling upon the ear, now expiring in cadences, was repeated continually; and as often as it seemed to cease, we heard it again renewed with increased vehemence. Having inquired the cause, we were told that this howling was nothing more than the usual ceremony of lamentation for a deceased person, performed by female mourners hired for the occasion. This remaining example of the *Ululation* of the Antients, it may be supposed, was not suffered to pass without further notice. We sent our interpreter to the house whence the sounds proceeded, desiring him to pay particular attention to the words used by the performers in this plaintive chorus. He told us, upon his return, that we might have the same ceremony repeated in our apartments: that the singers were women, hired to sing and to lament in this manner; the wealthier the family, the more numerous were the persons hired, and, of course, the louder the lamentations: that those female singers exhibited the most frightful distortions; having their hair dishevelled, their clothes torn, and their features disfigured with paint and dirt: that they were relieved at intervals by other women similarly employed; and thus the ceremony may be continued for any length of time. A principal

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part of their art consists in mingling with their *Ululation* such affecting expressions of praise and pity, such a pathetic narrative of the employments, possessions, and characteristics of the deceased, and such inquiry as to his reasons for leaving those whom he professed to love during life, as may excite the tears and sighs of the relations and friends collected about the corpse. It is therefore evident, that this custom, like the CAOINEADH of the *Irish*[1], and the funeral cry of other nations[2], are remains of

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(1) See an account of the Ceremony of *Ululation* among the *Irish*, as taken from the Transactions of the Royal *Irish* Academy, in Dr. *Adam Clarke's Edition of* "*Harmer's Observations*," *vol.* III. *p.* 40. *Lond.* 1808. Among other expressions used by the *Irish* mourners, they continually repeat the words "ULLALOO! ULLALOO! WHY DIDST THOU DIE?"—"The *Ullaloo* of the *Irish*," says the learned Editor of *Harmer's* work, "is the same, both in *sense* and *sound*, with the ولولة *eoloolch* of the *Arabians*, the *ululo* of the *Romans*, the ὀλολύζω of the *Greeks*, and the יְלַל *yalal* of the *Hebrews*."

(2) The custom seems to have been universal; for it has been observed among the descendants of the *three* great families; the *Arab*, the *Tahtar*, and the *Goth*. The *Arab*, as here related. The *Tahtar*, as in *Russia*. (*See Olearius, lib.* iii. *p.* 143. *Lond.* 1662.) The *Goth*, *Getæ*, or *Greeks*, as we learn from *Homer*. It prevails, also, among the *Albanians*; and is found even among the *Greenlanders*, and in *Abyssinia*. "The women continue their weeping and lamentation. Their *howl* is all in one tone; as if an instrument were to play a tremulous fifth downwards, through all the semitones. Now and then they pause a little." *See Crantz's History of Greenland, vol.* I. *p.* 239. *Lond.* 1767. See also *Salt's Travels*; and *Part* I. *of these Travels*, *p.* 251. 8*vo. edit.* for an account of the same custom in *Russia*.

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ceremonies practised in honour of the dead in almost every country of the earth: they are the same that *Homer* describes at the death of *Hector*[3]; and they are frequently alluded to in the Sacred Scriptures[4]:—"CALL FOR THE MOURNING WOMEN, THAT THEY MAY COME; AND SEND FOR CUNNING WOMEN, THAT THEY MAY COME: AND LET THEM MAKE HASTE, AND TAKE UP A WAILING FOR US, THAT OUR EYES MAY RUN DOWN WITH TEARS, AND OUR EYELIDS GUSH OUT WITH WATERS."

Exaggerated Descriptions of the Country.

As one writer of travels has copied another, the same exaggerated descriptions have been continually given of the luxuries of *Egypt*, during the inundation of the *Nile*. That its gardens, from the novelty of the plants found in them, are sometimes pleasing to the eye of a *European*, may be admitted; and it has been before acknowledged, that the plantations adorning the sides of the canal may for a short time render a stranger unmindful of the filth and wretchedness

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(3) ———Παρὰ δ' εἶσαν ἀοιδοὺς,
Θρήνων ἐξάρχους, οἵτε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν
Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες.
———"Juxtaque collocârunt cantores
Luctûs principes: hi flebile carmen,
Hi quidem lamentabantur: insuperque gemebant mulieres."
Homeri Iliados, lib. xxiv. *p.* 425. Ed. *Spond. Basil.* 1606.

(4) *Jer.* ix. 17, 18. See also 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 25. *Judges* xi. 39, 40. *Amos* v. 16. also *Mark* v. 38. &c. &c.

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of the city. But the boasted lakes, or rather mud-pools, into which the waters of the river are received, particularly the famous *Esbequir Birket*[1], would certainly be considered nuisances in any part of the civilized world. The dam of the canal had been cut about three days, when we arrived; and every one was still telling of the rejoicings and ceremonies which that event had occasioned. These have been all so fully described, that it would be useless to renew the subject. Some of our officers saw the *pillar*, or *statue*, of mud, which is raised every year between the dyke of the canal and the *Nile*, called *Anes*, or *The Bride*[2], and which is afterwards carried away by the current, when the water from the river is suffered to fall into the canal. This curious custom is said to have

Supposed Sacrifice of a *Virgin* to the *Nile*.

(1) It is quite amusing to read some of the accounts published of this place, and to contrast them with the real appearance. "*Rien n'est plus agréable que de voir un terrein, qui pendant huit mois de l'année est un prodigieux bassin rempli d'eau, devenu pendant les quatre autres un jardin riant et perpétuel.*" Déscript. de l'*Egypte* par *Maillet*, tom. I. p. 263. *à la Haye*, 1740. The same author speaks of the houses *ornamenting* the sides of this lake; whereas *Denon* observes, "*the less the houses were visible, the more they would please.*" Trav. in *Egypt*, vol. I. p. 105. *Lond.* 1803. In fact, nothing can be more wretched than either the one or the other; the filthy pool called a *lake*; or the *hovels*, described by many authors as *stately and elegant buildings*.

(2) See *Niebuhr*'s Travels, vol. I. p. 69. *Edinb.* 1792.

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given rise to the fabulous story of the annual sacrifice of a *virgin* to the NILE[3]. *Niebuhr* says, however, that the *pillar* of earth serves as a sort of *Nilometer*, for the use of the common people[4]; and this is probably the only use for which it was ever intended. We entered the canal, in our *djerm*, about noon, on the fifteenth of *August*; and after making the tour of nearly the whole city, by means of the canal, and a

(3) See *Niebuhr's* Travels, vol. I. p. 69. See also *De Tott*, vol. II. p. 243. *Lond.* 1785. *De Tott* says, the ancient *Egyptians* called the sacrifice *Arrousee*, The New Bride. This name, he observes, is still preserved in the more humanized ceremony. *Moreri (Dict. Hist. tom.* VII. *p.* 1041. *Paris*, 1759) thus speaks of the sacrifice, as having really existed: "*Les Egyptiens idolâtres s'imaginoient que leur dieu Serapis étoit l'auteur de ce débordement merveilleux du Nil: ainsi lorsqu'il retardoit, ils lui sacrifioient une fille, &c. Cette barbare dévotion fût abolie, disent les historiens Arabes, par le Calife Omar.*" Neither *Moreri*, however, nor any other author by whom this circumstance is related, mentions his authority for the fact. *Mentelle (Geogr. Anc. tom.* II. *p.* 441. *Paris*, 1789) alludes to the same custom. The whole story seems to be founded upon a passage in the writings of *Murtadi*, an *Arabian*, who gave a legendary account of the "*Wonders of Egypt*," which is nevertheless mentioned in terms of commendation by *Gibbon (Chap.* li. *Note* 128. *Hist. &c.*) This work was composed in the 13th century, and was afterwards translated by *Vatier* at *Paris*, 1666.—*Murtadi* affirms that the annual sacrifice of a virgin was abolished by the Caliph *Omar*. But human sacrifices were never tolerated by the antient *Egyptians*. *Herodotus* reproaches the *Greeks* with having entertained a contrary opinion (*Euterpe*, *c.* 45. *p.* 106. *ed Gronov. L. Bat.* 1715); and it is less probable that such sacrifices were suffered to take place at the time of *Omar's* conquest, when the *Christians* were in possession of *Egypt*.

(4) *Niebuhr*, vol. I. p. 69.

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series of dykes filled with the muddy water of the river, we at last entered the *Esbequir* Lake, or *Birket il Ezbequie*, at six o'clock P.M. Having crossed this piece of water, we landed, and went to the house we had hired; observing everywhere the same wretched appearances of dirt and degradation. The inhabitants, rejoicing in the expulsion of the *French*, and enjoying the festivity of the season, were carousing by the sides of the numerous channels then filled with the muddy and stagnant water of the *Nile*. Some degree of danger, too, might be apprehended from the turbulent mirth of *Turkish* soldiers, who where firing off their *tophaïkes* in all directions; otherwise the sight of so many cheerful groupes afforded a more pleasing spectacle, than either the buildings of the city, or its boasted canal. But how *Europeans*, describing *Caïro*, can call any thing *magnificent* which is surpassed even by the poorest parts of *Venice*, is really surprising. To read some of the accounts which have been published of this city[1], one might believe that they were derived

(1) "CETTE GRANDE ET ILLUSTRE VILLE," says *Vansleb*, (*p.* 117. *Nouvelle Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte. Paris*, 1677.) "ELLE EST SITUÉE DANS UNE PLAINE LA PLUS DELICIEUSE DU MONDE." (*Ibid.* p. 120.)

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from the pompous descriptions of *Arabian* writers; who, having never seen any thing finer than *Caïro*, speak of it as the "*Wonder of the world*," the "*Delight of the imagination*," "the *Great among the great*," the *Holy City*[2]. In fact, it may be said of *Caïro*, as of *Egypt* in general, that it has always been the subject of amplification, from the earliest periods of its history[3].

Book Market

We often visited the book-market, and observed nothing more remarkable than the number of beautiful manuscripts constantly offered for sale[4]. We purchased many of these manuscripts. Writings of any celebrity bear very high prices, especially famous works in *History*, *Astronomy*, *Geography*, and *Natural History*. The *Mamalukes* are more fond of reading than the *Turks*; and some of their libraries, in *Caïro*, contained volumes valued at immense prices. The *French*

(2) See *Denon's* Trav. vol. I. p. 103. *Lond.* 1803.

(3) "I never saw a place I liked worse, nor which afforded less pleasure or instruction, than *Caïro*; nor antiquities which less answered their descriptions." *Bruce's Travels, vol.* I. *p.* 33. *Edinb.* 1790.

(4) A *Catalogue*, published in the *Appendix* to the *First Section* of this *Part* of our Travels, will serve to render the great variety of works in *Oriental* literature, which are upon daily sale in the cities of the *East*, more known than it has hitherto been. See Vol. III. Appendix, No. III. Octavo edition.

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had been so often guilty of plunder, that the booksellers, and other tradesmen, had for some time concealed their most valuable property. The best manuscripts were, therefore, only beginning to be exposed for sale. During our inquiry after a complete copy of the "*Arabian Nights*," a bookseller said he knew where to find a copy of this work; but that its owner had carefully concealed it, through fear of the *French*. The title of this compilation, in *Arabic*, is pronounced, by the dealers in *Caïro*, *Alf Leela o Lila*. To our great satisfaction, this manuscript, or rather collection of manuscripts, was brought to us, in four quarto cases, containing One hundred and seventy-two Tales, separated into *One thousand and one* portions, for recital during the same number of *Nights*. Each case contained about fifty numbers, sewed up like so many loose manuscript sermons. The whole was fairly written; and the price set upon it amounted only to the moderate sum of one hundred piastres, (about seven pounds *English*,) according to the state of exchange at that time. We bought it; and its lamentable fate has been before related[1]. This may be the more

(1) See Preface to Vol. III. p. xxv. Note (2). Octavo edition.

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regretted, because many of the tales[2] related to *Syrian* and to *Egyptian* customs and traditions, and have not been found in any other copy of the same work. CHAP. III.

A few cursory observations may now be introduced, as they were made, and as the author finds them occurring in his journal. Who would have believed that antient *Roman* coins were still in circulation in any part of the world? yet this is strictly true. We noticed *Roman* copper medals in *Cairo* given in exchange in the markets among the coins of the country, and valued at something less than our halfpenny. What is more remarkable, we obtained some of the large bronze *medals* of the *Ptolemies*, circulating at higher value, but in the same manner. The manufacture of silk and cotton handkerchiefs had been taught to the inhabitants by the French. Such handkerchiefs were then selling for seven shillings *English* each; and it was in buying these that we first noticed the circulation of the antient among the modern money of *Egypt*. The *Arabs*, who generally sing during labour, use an antient *Hebrew* invocation of the Deity while they are

Antient *Medals* in circulation.

Custom of the *Arabs* in passing a Bridge.

(2) See the List given in No. IV. of the *Appendix* to Vol. III. of these Travels.

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passing, in their boats, beneath a bridge; calling out *Eloï! Eloï!* (pronounced ELOHE!) in a plaintive tone of incantation[1]. The females of *Caïro* are often seen, in the public streets, riding upon asses and upon mules: they sit in the masculine attitude, like the women of *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*. Their dress consists of a hood, and cloak, extending to the feet, with a stripe of white calico in front, concealing the face and breast, but having two small holes for the eyes. In this disguise, if any man were to meet his own wife, or his sister, he would not be able to recognise her, unless she were to speak to him; and this is seldom done, because the suspicious *Moslems*, observing such an intercourse, might suppose an intrigue to be going on; in which case they would put one, if not both of them, to death. The *Turks* had committed great enormities in *Caïro*, from the first moment of their arrival, after the capture of the city. If they found an unfortunate female, of whatsoever rank, who had admitted the embraces of a *Frenchman*, or of any other *Christian*, they put her to death, without the smallest

Appearance of Women in the Streets.

Enormities practised by the *Turks*.

(1) See *Genesis* xxxiii. 20.; also *Mark* xv. 34. who uses the *Syro-Chaldaick* dialect of the *Hebrew*, as it was in use in the time of our Saviour; *Eloï* for *Eli*.

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compunction. A young man who lived in the same house with us, was wounded by a musket-ball on the day of our arrival. He had been looking from the terrace at some *Turks* below, when one of them fired off his piece, and shot him. The only excuse made was, that they mistook him for a *Frenchman*. In like manner they strangled a *Christian* in one of the public baths; offering the same apology for the act they had committed. Notwithstanding the circumstance of the city's being at that time garrisoned by our troops, it was not safe to venture alone into the streets. We were riding one day with a priest of the *Propaganda* monastery, being mounted upon asses; when suddenly a party of *Bostanghies*, belonging to a *Turk* of distinction, and running before his horse, ordered us to descend until the grandee had passed. This we positively refused to do; upon which, not daring to meddle with us, they vented all their rage upon the poor priest, whom they dragged from his ass, and chastised with their white wands in our presence. Complaint was accordingly made to the officers of the garrison, and to the *Vizir*; and a promise was obtained from the *Turks* of better behaviour in future; upon which, however, little reliance could be placed. The *English* had a very small

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force, at this time, in *Caïro*; and it was deemed prudent not to exasperate a fanatical mob, by any violation of their pride or their prejudices, when it could be avoided. The events that took place afterwards, in *Egypt*, fully justified this precaution. Nevertheless, orders had been issued, that no *Englishman* should be compelled to descend and humble himself before a *Moslem*, which caused us to offer the resistance we had made.

Soon after this adventure, descending from our house to a part of the canal where our *djerm* was stationed, intending to make an excursion upon the water, we found the vessel completely filled by a party of dastardly *Turks*; who had expelled the worthy *Reis*, to whom the boat belonged, together with his crew, and had taken full possession of her, for their own use. These grave personages were seated, quite at their ease, with their tobacco-pipes kindled; and were moving off in great state, as we arrived. There was not much time to be lost in any idle parley; so we all leaped, from the side of the canal, into the midst of the self-constituted *divân*, whose members instantly surrendered, with great seeming humility, and, being landed, scampered off with more speed

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and less composure than usually characterizes *Turks* in their deportment. The matter, however, did not end here. Watching the opportunity when our good *Reis* was again left alone to the guardianship of his *djerm*, they bound him hand and foot, and carried him to a house in the neighbourhood, where they bastinadoed him most unmercifully, by way of wreaking their vengeance upon us, for the indignity they had experienced; nor could we ever bring the offenders to justice, or obtain, for the person they had thus injured, the slightest redress. Such was the state of affairs in *Grand Caïro*, at the time the *English* were in possession of the city. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what the situation of its *Christian* inhabitants must be, when all things are left to the discretion of its *Mohammedan* masters.

Extortions.

The extortions practised upon the inhabitants exceed all credibility. The *French*, at one time, levied a contribution of ten millions of *piastres*; and of this sum a single merchant paid fifty thousand *dollars*. The same person, upon the subsequent arrival of the *Grand Vizir* with his army, was compelled to pay the enormous sum of three hundred and sixty thousand *dollars*.

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Neither *Buonaparte* nor *Kleber* distressed the people of *Caïro*, by their extortions, so much as did *Menou;* who, in the latter part of his tyrannical government, omitted no measures whereby he might plunder the inhabitants of their property. Nothing was too mean for his avarice; nothing vast enough for his rapacity. In addition to all the privations and horrors the citizens had endured, the plague spread its ravages to every corner of the city, and thirty-two thousand persons, in one year, became its victims. A disorder, not less fatal than the plague, (the dysentery,) begins to prevail when the plague retires; but this principally attacks strangers. Colonel *Stewart*'s regiment, quartered at *Dj̈iza*, near the *Pyramids*, was reduced by this complaint, in one month, from three hundred men to seventy. The Colonel was lodged in the palace of *Murad Bey*. Of this edifice it is difficult to give an idea by description: it contained barracks capable of quartering sixty thousand men, including a very great proportion of cavalry; together with a cannon-foundry, and every thing necessary for the immense system of warfare carried on by that prince, who rivalled in wealth and power the antient sovereigns of *Egypt*.

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Discovery of a curious Manuscript.

Upon the nineteenth of *August*, our friend Mr. *Hammer* breakfasted with us, and brought with him a valuable *Arabic* manuscript, presented to him by the Consul *Rosetti*, of very diminutive size, but most exquisitely written. The translation of it, by Mr. *Hammer*, has since been published in *England;* and this work, although hitherto little regarded by the public, merits particular notice. It professes to explain the hieroglyphics, and many antient alphabets; giving, moreover, an account of the *Egyptian priests*, their classes, initiation, and sacrifices [1]. It illustrates the origin of placing embalmed *birds* in the catacombs of *Saccára;* a circumstance that will be again alluded to, in describing those subterraneous repositories.

Citadel.

We then set out for the *Citadel*. After the numerous accounts published of this place, it

(1) For this publication, the world is indebted to the munificent patronage of Earl *Spencer* and of Sir *Joseph Banks*, at whose expense, principally, the undertaking took place; also to the literary care of Dr. *C. Wilkins*, Librarian to the *East-India* Company. *(See the account given of it in the Naval Chronicle, vol.* XXII. *p.* 392.*)* The title is as follows: "*Antient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters explained; with an Account of the Egyptian Priests, their Classes, Initiation, and Sacrifices, in the Arabic Language, by* AHMAD BIN ABUBEKR BIN WAHSHI; *and in English, by* JOSEPH HAMMER, *Secretary to the Imperial (Austrian) Legation at Constantinople. London. Nicoll, Pall-Mall,* 1806."

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were useless to write a particular description of it[1]. The most interesting parts of it to an *English* traveller, as connected with the history of the architecture of his country, are the splendid remains of buildings erected by the antient *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, particularly the edifice vulgarly called "*Joseph's Palace*," built by Sultan *Salah ed din*, or *Saladine*, whose name was *Joseph*[2]. Here we beheld those *pointed arches*, which, although constructed soon after the middle of the twelfth century, by a fanatic *Moslem*[3], (now ranked among the *Mohammedan* Saints, for his rigid adherence to all the prejudices of *Islam*[4],) certain *English* antiquaries

Pointed Arches.

(1) "Aloft, and neere the top of the mountaine, against the south end of the citie, stands the Castle, (once the stately mansion of the Mamaluck Sultans, and destroyed by Selymus) ascended unto by one way onely, and that hewne out of the rocke, which rising leisurely with easie steps, and spacious distances, (though of a great height) may be on horsebacke without difficultie mounted." *Sandys' Travels, p.* 128. *Lond.* 1637. The reader may be referred to Lord *Valentia's* Travels for the best account of the place; and, above all, for the accurate and beautiful views of the buildings in it, which his lordship published, after Mr. *Salt's* designs made upon the spot. *See vol.* III. *p.* 372. *&c. Lond.* 1809. *See also Niebuhr, vol.* I. *p.* 59. *Edin.* 1792.

(2) *Niebuhr*, ibid.

(3) "In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic." *Gibbon, vol.* XI. *p.* 119. *Lond.* 1807.

(4) "All profane science was the object of his aversion." *Ibid. p.* 118.

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would fancifully attribute to the labours of *English* workmen[5]. CHAP. III.

To add to the interest excited by the examination of Sultan *Saladine*'s magnificent palace, Mr.

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(5) See *Milner* on the *Eccles. Architect. of England.* Not that, by the removal of this solitary objection to the *English origin* of the *pointed* arch, any satisfactory conclusion could be drawn, as to the want of its existence elsewhere in the *East.* This kind of arch, according to its very best proportions, as defined by the advocates for its *English* origin, (See *Milner*, as above, p. 104, Note *,) and as it become fashionable in *England* between the end of the *thirteenth* and the latter part of the *fifteenth* century, is a peculiar characteristic of the architecture of the *Saracens* in *Egypt*, in all their oldest buildings. *(See the designs of Luigi Mayer, as published by Sir R. Anslie.)* It moreover exists in some of the sepulchres in *Upper Egypt*, and among the ruins of *Tahtar* edifices, in the remote district of *Madshary*, between the *Kuma* and *Eyvalla* rivers. *See Pallas's Travels in the South of Russia, vol.* I. *Plates* xii, *and* xiii. *and Vignette* 6. *See also the remains of the same style of architecture, Fragmens des Voyages, Pl.* xx. *p.* 430. *Berne*, 1793. In the "*Voyages de Chardin*," *tome troisième*, are several views of the interior of different *Persian* palaces, of caravanserais, bridges, &c. Each of these plates affords specimens of the *pointed arch.* There is a remarkable curve in all these arches. At about two-thirds of the distance from the spring of the arch to its summit, the curvature becomes convex to the interior of the arch. The same remark is applicable to some *pointed arches* in the elevation and section of a sepulchral monument at *Mosslof-Kuut*, on the river *Podkuma*, at the foot of *Caucasus*, as given in *Pallas's Travels, Plate* xiv. This curious circumstance of the convex curvature, between the spring of the arch and its vertex, is not, however, peculiar to the *pointed arch* in the *East:* it is found in buildings erected in the beginning of the *fifteenth* century in *England.* An instance occurs in the arched niches, for the reception of images, above the altar of an old church of the Holy Trinity, now the Rectory church, at *Harlton* in *Cambridgeshire.*

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Interesting Inscription.

Hammer had the satisfaction to discover, among many *Arabic* inscriptions yet remaining in the great hall of the building, one in excellent preservation, and in large characters, which he copied, with this legend;

SALAHEDDIN, DESTROYER OF INFIDELS AND HEATHENS:

so that the origin of the building and its date, which before rested, in great measure, on tradition, is thereby established. Had it not been for these inscriptions, it might have been considered as of higher antiquity than the age of *Saladine*; for, in many respects, it resembles edifices erected in the age of *Justinian*; and particularly in the profusion of *Mosaic painting*, whereby its stately ceilings and walls are ornamented. We collected specimens of this *Mosaic*. The *French*, who made use of the building as an hospital, had torn it down, in many places, during their residence here, and scattered it among the rubbish. It corresponded, in a remarkable manner, both by the nature of its composition, and by the style of the workmanship, with the *Mosaic* ornaments of *St. Sophia* at *Constantinople*; containing the same gilded and coloured *fritta*, imbedded in fine mortar, as white as snow. The principal remains

Mosaic Painting.

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of *Mosaic painting* were in a room opposite to the great hall; and the objects so represented, were castles, houses, trees, gardens, fruit, flowers, and animals. Among the different substances used for this kind of work, we observed pieces of the shell called *Mother of Pearl*: this may be considered, perhaps, peculiar to the *Mosaic* of the age of *Saladine*; as it does not appear among the tesserated pavements of the Antients, nor in the *Mosaic* of St. *Sophia*. The materials of antient *Mosaic* generally consisted of small pieces of variously coloured *glass*: although, in some parts of St. *Sophia*, the *tesseræ* are of *marble* of different hues. The curious art of painting in *Mosaic* existed in a very remote period. Several writers maintain that it was derived originally from *Persia*[1]; in proof of this, they cite the first chapter of the book of *Esther*, where it is said of the palace of *Ahasuerus*[2], that "the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble." *Pliny*, however, attributes the invention to the *Greeks*[3]. Works

(1) See *Winkelmann*, Hist. de l'Art, tom. II. p. 157. *Paris*, An 2 de la République.

(2) C. I. v. 6.

(3) "Pavimenta originem apud Græcos habent elaboratâ arte, picturæ ratione, donec lithostrota expulêre eam." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 25. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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in *Mosaic* were by the *Greeks* appropriated to the pavement of their temples and dwellings. Many of the floors in the houses at *Pompeii* have this kind of covering. It was in a later age that the same sort of ornament was used for the facing of walls, and for coating the interior of domes and vaulted buildings[1]. In process of time, tables were thus constructed, which, being fixed in marble frames, might be moved without loosening the *tesseræ*. Celebrated pictures in *Mosaic*, the work of *Grecian* artists, existed among the *Romans*[2]. This admirable invention, capable of giving perpetuity to works in painting, has survived the downfall of letters; but it has never been practised beyond the *Alps*: it still exists in *Italy*, where it has been carried to a degree of perfection unknown in any former age. The finest works of *Raphael*, and of other great masters, have

Present state of the Art.

(1) "Pulsa deinde ex humo pavimenta; in cameras transière, è vitro: novitium et hoc inventum." *(Ibid.)* "Ensuite elle a servi à revêtir les voûtes des bâtimens." *Winkelmann, Hist. de l'Art, ubi supra, p.* 158.

(2) Witness the celebrated work of *Sosus* of *Pergamus*, mentioned by *Pliny, (lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 25.) of The *Dove* drinking out of a Vase of Water, found in *Adrian*'s Villa at *Tivoli*, and lately preserved in the Capitol at *Rome*; the celebrated works of *Dioscorides* of *Samos*, found in *Herculaneum*; and the famous *Mosaic* of *Palestrina*. *See Winkelmann, lib.* iv. *c.* 8. *sect.* 47. *also lib.* vi. *c.* 7. *sect.* 16, *&c.*

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been thus copied; and these copies may defy the attacks to which the originals were liable, while they preserve all their perfections. Miniature painting of the most exquisite colouring has also been executed in the same manner; the artist using vitrified *tesseræ* of different hues, instead of liquid colours. The gilded *tesseræ* which we procured from the *Mosaic* of *Saladine's* palace, resembles, in size and appearance, those of the *Mosaics* which invest the domes of buildings in *Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Venice,* and *Constantinople;* all of these were the works of *Grecian* artists, as the inscriptions yet remaining imply. Each *tessera* is a cube of glass, of the size of our common playing dice, traversed by thin film of gold, in such a manner that the gold leaf does not lie coating the exterior surface, but appears through a vitrified superficies.

Joseph's Well.

One of the marvels of *Egypt,* in former times, was the fountain belonging to the *Citadel,* called "*Joseph's Well;*" but since the country has been accessible to enlightened travellers, it is no longer considered as any thing extraordinary[3].

(3) It is not, in fact, the only work of the kind in the neighbourhood of *Cairo*. The Consul *Maillet* found five other wells, of the same nature, in the ruins of old *Cairo*. "J'en ai découvert cinq à-peu-près semblables

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notwithstanding *Savary*'s Oriental researches, the *Citadel* of *Caïro* may stand upon the spot once occupied by the *Acropolis* of the *Egyptian Babylon:* this opinion, maintained by *Shaw* in opposition to *Pococke*, who assigned a different position for the *Babylonian* fortress[1], is further confirmed by the style of the work used in the structure; by the skill manifested in hewing the rock upon which it stands, for the way up to it; for the well; and for other purposes. *Pococke* affirmed that the hill itself seemed to have been separated, by art[2], from the eastern extremity of Mount *Mokatam;* and this name, according to *Shaw*[3], signifies "*a mountain hewn, or cut through.*" Such immense labour is more characteristic of an *Assyrian* colony, than of the *Arabians*, in any period of their history: and that such a settlement was actually made many ages before the conquest of *Egypt* by the *Arabs*, is clear from the evidence of *Diodorus Siculus*[4], of *Strabo*[5], and of *Josephus*[6]. But long before

(1) *Old Cairo* seems to have succeeded to the town and fortress of *Babylon*, which I imagine to have been on Mount *Jehusi*, at the south end of *Old Cairo*." *Pococke's Description of the East*, *vol.* I. *p.* 25. *Lond.* 1743.

(2) Ibid. p. 32.

(3) *Shaw's* Travels, *ubi supra.*

(4) *Diod. Sic.* lib. i. p. 58. *Hanov.* 1604.

(5) *Strabon.* Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1143. Ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

(6) *Josephus* de Antiq. *Jud.* lib. ii. c. 15. *Colon.* 1691.

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the foundation, even of the *Egyptian Babylon*, an establishment had taken place upon the same spot. The situation of the *Citadel* of *Caïro* corresponds with the locality of a city almost as old as *Memphis*. The district in which it stands was the Land of *Goshen*, or *Rameses* of Scripture, assigned by *Joseph* unto his father and his brethren, that they might be *near* to the seat of the *Egyptian* kings[7]. Their first settlement was in the same territory, at On[8], the Bethshemesh of the Prophet *Jeremiah*[9], both of which names are rendered, in the Septuagint, Heliopolis[10]; but in their departure, according to *Josephus*, they passed by the ruins of a city called *Letopolis*, upon the site of which *Cambyses* afterwards erected the *Egyptian Babylon*[12].

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(7) "And thou shalt be *near unto me*, thou and thy children." *Gen.* xiv. 10.

(8) *Josephus* uses the words ὁ ἘΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΕΙ. *Antiq. lib.* ii. *cap.* 4.

(9) *Jerem.* xliii. 13.

(10) Ἡλιούπολις.

(11) So called from Λητοῦς, *Latona Dea*. It has been confounded with *Latopolis*. See the Notes to the *Oxford* edition of *Strabo*, vol. II. p. 1143. Might not the annual sacrifice of a *Virgin* to the *Nile*, which is said by some authors to have happened here, at the period of its inundation, have some reference to the mythological history of the persecution of *Latona* by the Serpent *Python*?

(12) *Joseph.* Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 15. *Colen.*

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View from the Ramparts.

Amongst all the sights which this extraordinary country presents to the eyes of an *European* traveller, there is nothing more novel than the view of objects beheld from the *Citadel*[1]. A very considerable district, whether the spectator regard the *East* or the *South*, is distinguished by one uniform buff colour. Towards the *North*, this colour is opposed by the most vived green that imagination can conceive; covering all the *Delta*. Upon the *West* are seen the *Pyramids*, reflecting the sun's beams, and as white as snow. In order that the reader may comprehend the exact situation of all that is seen from hence, this Chapter may conclude by a detail of the relative position of the different objects, as they were observed by a mariner's

(1) After the author's return to *England*, he often endeavoured to direct the attention of some *Panorama* painter of *London* to this curious spot; being convinced that a more surprising subject for that kind of painting could not be found in any other part of the world. Some years afterwards, a View of *Cairo*, painted by Mr. *Barker*, after designs by Mr. *Salt*, was exhibited in *Leicester Fields*. The effect, however, was deficient. The objects represented, and especially the *Pyramids*, were too diminutive; the remarkable contrast of colour, and the peculiar hues displayed by the original scene, were not preserved; and the general cast of the scenery had too much the air of an *European* landscape. As a picture, considering the difficulty encountered by an artist in the representation of a scene he had never beheld, it was a work of great merit; but to delineate with fidelity that which is like *nothing else*, the artist must himself visit *Egypt*.

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compass. This mode of description was frequently used by the celebrated *Wheler*, in the account he published of his Travels in *Greece*[2]; and it will be occasionally adopted in the remaining Chapters of this Section.

VIEW *from the* CITADEL *of* CAIRO.

East.

A very unusual and striking spectacle; all the landscape being of a buff, or bright stone-colour; and the numerous buildings in view having the hue of the plains on which they stand. In the distance is an arid desert, without a single mark of vegetation. Nearer to the eye appear immense heaps of sand, the *Obelisk* of *Heliopolis*, and the stately *mosques*, *minarets*, and *sepulchres*, belonging to a *Cœmetery* of the *Caliphs* in a suburb of *Caïro*, called *Beladeensan;* a place crowded with buildings of a singular form[3].

South East.

Hill and broken mounds, disposed, in vast masses, with very great grandeur.

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(2) See *Wheler*'s Travels, pp. 410, 442, 449, &c. *Lond.* 1682.

(3) See Plate 24. in the large *Paris* edition of *Denon*'s Travels.

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South.

A grand scene of desolation; the same buff colour prevailing over every object. In the fore-ground are the lofty quarries of *Mount Mokatam*, with ruined castles, mouldering domes, and the remains of other edifices, above, below, and stretching beneath the heights, far into the plain. More distant, appear the mountains of *Upper Egypt*, flanking the eastern bank of the *Nile*, and a wide misty view of the *Saïd*.

South West, and West.

Immediately beneath the eye is seen the *Aqueduct*, supported by arches, and extending two miles in length, from the *Nile* to the *Citadel;* together with *mosques, minarets;* and immense heaps of sand. But the grand object, viewed in this direction, is the NILE itself. At this time, having attained its greatest elevation, extending over a wide surface, and flowing with great rapidity, it appeared covered with barges belonging to the army, and the various vessels of the country, spreading their enormous sails on every part of it. The Ruins of *Old Caïro*, the *Island* and groves of *Rhouda*, enrich this fine prospect. Beyond the river appears the town of *Djiza*, amidst the most beautiful groves of sycamore, fig, and palm trees; still

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more remote, the *Pyramids* of *Djiza* and *Saccara*; and, beyond these, the great *Libyan* Desert, extending to the utmost verge of the visible horizon; a vast ocean of sand.

North West, and North.

The green plains of the *Delta* occupy all the distant perspective in this direction, like so many islands, covered with groves and gardens, and adorned with white edifices; among these the *djerms*, the *canjas*, and other beautiful boats of the *Nile*, are seen sailing.

North East.

The whole City of CAÏRO, extending from the *North* towards the *North East*, and surrounded, in the latter direction, by heaps of sand. Immediately beneath the spectator is seen a grand and gloomy structure, called *The Mosque of Sultan Hassan*, standing close to one of two *lakes*, which appear among the crowded buildings of the city.

Such is the surprising and highly diversified view from the *Citadel* of GRAND CAÏRO. It will not be too much to affirm of this extraordinary prospect, that a scene more powerfully affecting the mind, by the singularity of its association,

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is not elsewhere to be contemplated;—a profusion of Nature, amidst her most awful privation; a disciplined army encamped amidst lawless banditti; *British* pavilions, and *Bedouin* tents; luxurious gardens, and barren deserts; the *pyramid* and the *mosque;* the *obelisk* and the *minaret;* the sublimest monuments of human industry. amidst mouldering reliques of *Saracenic* power.

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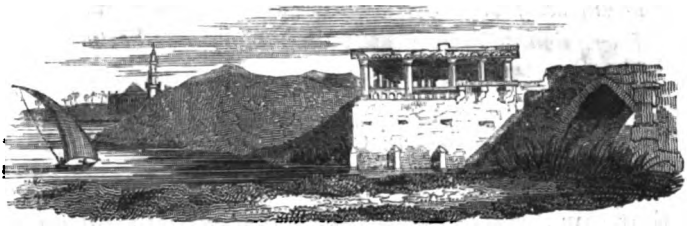

Entrance to the Amnis Trajanus, *from the* Nile.

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HELIOPOLIS, AND THE PYRAMIDS OF DJIZA.

Passage along the Canal—Visit to Heliopolis—*Matarëa —Pillar of* On — *Style of the Hieroglyphics — Intelligence concerning them — their Archetypes —* Crux ansata—*its meaning explained—Of the* Hieralpha *and the* Testudo—*Other Symbols—*Kircher—*History of the Obelisk — Minerals of the* Arabian *Desert — Doubtful Origin of* Egyptian Jasper—*Petrifactions —Dates and Corn—*Almehs—*Of the Alleluïa, and cry of lamentation—Voyage to the* Pyramids—*Appearance presented by the principal Pyramid — Objects seen from the summit — Nature of the Limestone used in its construction —Extraneous Fossil described by* Strabo — *Mortar — Labours of the* French *Army — Theft committed by an* Arab—*Visit to the interior of the larger Pyramid — Notions entertained of its violation — Its passages —Observation at the* Well — *Examination of some inferior Channels — Chamber of the Sepulchre—* The Soros—*its demolition attempted—*The Sphinx—

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its surface found to be painted—Discovery of an antient Inscription—Custom of painting antient Statues—Extract from Pauw.

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Our house in *Grand Cairo* stood in a principal street, near the northern bank of the *Canal;* so that our *djerm*, being always at hand, served us, like a *gondola* at *Venice*, instead of a carriage; and we frequently used it to visit the different parts of the city accessible by canals. Upon the twenty-first of *August*, the inundation being nearly at its height, we attempted a passage by water to the utmost extremity of the *Amnis Trajanus*[1], in the direction of the *Birk el Hadjee*,

(1) The *Khalig*, or principal Canal of *Cairo*, believed to be the ΤΡΑΪΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ of *Ptolemy*, (*Vid. Geog. lib.* iv. *c.* 5.) and called also, by some writers, FOSSA TRAIANA. *Savary*, upon the authority of *Elmacin*, an *Arabic* historian, attributes this work entirely to *Omar*, and says it was *Adrian*, rather than *Trajan*, who caused a canal to be dug near CAIRO. (*Lettres sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 94. *Paris*, 1785.) There is, however, reason to believe that *Omar*'s work was merely a restoration of the antient dyke. It extends eastward of the *Nile*, to the distance of twelve miles, and is terminated by *the Pilgrim's Lake*. Formerly it was continued to *Heroopolis*, upon the banks of the *Red Sea*. This undertaking was begun by *Sesostris*, carried on by *Darius*, and finished by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Its last restoration took place in the year 644, under *Caliph Omar*. (*Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1140. *Edit. Oxon. See also the Notes in the Oxford edition of Strabo.*) The history of this great undertaking, in its origin, is thus related by *Pliny*, who says the design was abandoned through fear of inundating *Egypt* with the waters of the RED SEA. "*Daneon portus, ex quo navigabilem alveum perducere in Nilum* (*quâ parte ad Delta dictum decurrit*

or *Pilgrim's Lake*, which was the first station of the great Caravan, in its journey to *Mecca*. We soon found our progress obstructed by the arch of a bridge, which was so low, that our *djerm* could not pass beneath it, and we were compelled to return.

Visit to Heliopolis.

The next day, having obtained horses and a *Janissary*, we set out again, in the same direction, by land, desirous of seeing the remains of Heliopolis, one of the most antient cities of the world of which a vestige can now be traced. More than eighteen hundred years ago, its ruins

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decurrit LXII *mill. pass. intervallo, quod inter flumen et Rubrum mare interest) primus omnium Sesostris Ægypti rex cogitavit: mox Darius Persarum: deinde Ptolemæus sequens: qui et duxit fossam latitudine pedum centum, altitudine triginta, in longitudinem* XXXVII *mill.* D *pass. usque ad fontes amaros: ultra deterruit inundationis metus, excelsiore tribus cubitis Rubro mari comperto, quam terra Ægypti." (Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* vi. *cap.* 29. *tom.* I. *p.* 331. *L. Bat.* 1635.) According to the passage which *Savary* has translated from Elmacin, *Omar's* lieutenant, *Amrou*, opened the communication between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile* by means of this canal; and a navigation, bearing the produce of *Egypt*, actually commenced. "*Les bateaux partant de Fostat, portèrent dans la Mer de Colzoum les denrées de l'Egypte.*" (*Voy. Lett. sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 96. *Paris*, 1785.) "Such," says *Savary*, "is the origin of that famous canal, which travellers, copying each other, have called *Amnus Trajanus*." Be it remembered, however, that in this number are *Pococke* and *Shaw:* and with all deference to *Savary's* great abilities, and to his predilection for *Arabic* histories, it may be presumed that neither of these writers was unacquainted with the sources whence the *French* author derived his information.

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attracted the regard of the most enlightened travellers of *Greece* and *Rome*. Nearly thirty years before the *Christian* æra they were visited by *Strabo*; and his description of them proves that the condition of this once famous seat of science was almost as forlorn then as at the present period. If, as *Shaw* has ingeniously attempted to prove[1], the accretion of soil, from the annual inundation of the NILE, "*have been in a proportion of somewhat more than a foot in a hundred years*," we might search for some of the antiquities mentioned by *Strabo*, at the depth of six yards below the present surface. But when *Pococke* visited the place, he observed the fragments of *Sphinxes* yet remaining, in the antient way leading to the eminence on which the *Temple of the Sun* stood, between the principal entrance to its area, and the southern side of the *obelisk* standing before it[2]. The *Sphinxes* which *Pococke* saw, were, in fact, a part of the identical antiquities that were noticed by *Strabo* so many centuries before[3]; whence it is

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(1) Travels, Second Edition, p. 338. Ch. II. sect. 3.

(2) *Pococke's* Descript. of the *East*, vol. I. p. 23. *Lond.* 1743.

(3) Διὰ δὲ τοῦ μήκους παντὸς ἑξῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πλάτους σφίγγες ἵδρυνται λίθιναι, πήχεις εἴκοσιν, ἢ μικρῷ πλείους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχουσαι, ὥσθ' ἕνα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν εἶναι στίκον (στοῖχον) τῶν σφιγγῶν, ἕνα δ' ἐξ εὐωνύμων. "Per totam vero longitudinem deinceps ex utraque latitudinis parte sunt positæ lapideæ sphinges,

reasonable to conclude, that very little labour would be necessery to excavate even the pavement of the temple[4]. From the observations made by *Pococke*, he deduces an inference, that the utmost height to which the soil has accumulated does not exceed seven feet and a half[5]. At the time of our visit to *Heliopolis*, all the area of the antient temple was under water; so that any search of this kind was thereby prevented.

Our road to this place from *Caïro* was along the southern side of the canal, through the most fertile gardens, and amidst thick groves of olive and orange trees. In our way, we halted at *Matarĕa*, a village which is generally believed to occupy a part of the site of the antient city[6]. Here travellers are entertained with a number of absurd superstitions, similar to those already described in the account of the *Holy*

Matarĕa.

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sphinges, vicenis cubitis, vel paulo pluribus inter se distantes: ut altera sphingum series sit a dextra, altera a sinistra." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1142. *Edit. Oxon.*

(4) Ibid.

(5) Descript. of the *East*, vol. I. p. 23.

(6) This place is said by *Quaresmius* to be ten geographical miles from *Caïro*, (*Vid. Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom.* II. *p.* 948. *Antv.* 1639.) meaning, probably, from *Old Caïro*; as it is only five from *Grand Caïro*, according to *Bernardino*.

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Land. The principal number of *Christians* who visit *Mataréa* are pilgrims, attracted by the supposed sanctity of the spot, as connected with the history of our Saviour. The celebrated *Fountain of the Sun*[1], whence the city itself seems

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(1) Called *Ain Schemps* by the *Arabs*, which agrees with the name of *Heliopolis*, as found in *Abulfeda*, and cited by the learned *Kircher*; *Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* III. *p.* 381. *Rom.* 1655. "*Ain Schemps, sive Heliopolis, quam et Oculum seu fontem Solis appellant*, temporibus nostris desolata est, neque sunt in ea habitationes ullæ; et dicitur, quòd fuerit civitas *Pharaonis:* sunt in ea insignia antiquitatis monumenta, constructa ex lapidibus et saxis maximis; inter cætera verò columna quadrata, quæ vocatur *Acus Pharaonis* (id est *Obeliscus*), longitudo ejus 30 cubitorum, estque à *Cayro* ferè media mergala; est etiam ibidem villa dicta *Mataréa*, sita ad latus sinistrum *Orientalis Nili.*"

It may be proper to notice here a very extraordinary doubt of the learned *Larcher* concerning this city, as it is expressed in the *Table Géographique*, published in the *Appendix* to his Translation of *Herodotus*. M. *Larcher* asserts, in opposition to every preceding writer, that *Heliopolis* was situated in the *Delta*, and that *Mataréa* stands on the site of an *insignificant* town of the same name, which has been confounded with the more renowned city. For this assertion M. *Larcher* offers no proof whatsoever; but refers his reader to a separate dissertation, which he intends to publish upon this subject. With the utmost deference to that profound scholar, it may be surely urged, that what *Kircher*, *Pococke*, and *Shaw*, considered to be established, will not be hastily abandoned. In addition to this it may be asked, do not the remains of *Sphinxes*, noticed by *Pococke*, confirm the description given by *Strabo* of the ruins of *Heliopolis?* Do not the stupendous *Obelisks*, one of which is now standing, (*two others were taken to Rome, Vid. Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1142. *Ed. Oxon.*) indicate, beyond a possibility of contradiction, the vestiges of no *inconsiderable* city? The observations of *Strabo* concerning the situation of the Ἡλιουπολίτης νομὸς, and the τοῦ Ἡλίου πόλις, are given with remarkable precision; and when these are compared with the observations

to have been originally named, and whose delicious water attracted the earliest settlers to the eastern side of the *Nile*, was, according to Monkish legends, only known from the time that the *Holy Family* came into *Egypt*. It burst forth, they say, when the *Virgin* with CHAP. IV.

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tions made by modern travellers, the evidence for the position of the city is complete; and nothing seems likely to supersede it. He is describing the country along the *Pelusiac* branch of the *Nile*; and coming to the Canal between that river and the *Red Sea*, he deduces its origin from a period anterior to the *Trojan* War. The subject leads him to *Arsinoë*, near which city this canal joined the *Sinus Heroopolites*. Thence returning to the *Nile*, he speaks of places on its *eastern* side, which are near to the *southern* point or vertex of the *Delta*; mentioning first *Bubastus*, then *Heliopolis*, *Letopolis*, &c. and their respective *nomes*; enumerating these as they occurred from the *North* towards the *South*, until he reaches the *Nile* beyond the *Delta*; and speaks of *Libya* as being on the right, and *Arabia* upon the left: "*Wherefore*," says he, "*the Heliopolitan district is in Arabia.*" Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡλιοπολίτης ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ἐστίν. After this observation, can it be affirmed that *Heliopolis* was in the *Delta?* Another very remarkable observation of *Strabo* may be cited, with reference to antiquities observed by *Maillet*, which seem to prove, not only that *Matarèa* denotes the site of *Heliopolis*, but also that *Old Caïro* stands within the *Letopolitan* district: it is, the mention he makes of certain *Caves*, or pits, for astronomical observations, lying in the *Letopolitan prefecture*, beyond HELIOPOLIS. *Maillet* discovered, among the ruins of *Old Caïro*, several pits excavated to a very great depth in the rock, after the manner of *Joseph's Well*. (*See the Note to p.* 125 *of this volume.*) These correspond with the notions at present entertained of the astronomical wells of the Antients; and perhaps they are the *Astronomical Caves* alluded to by STRABO.—*For other particulars concerning Heliopolis, see Herodot. Euterpe; Diodorus Siculus, lib.* v. *c.* 57; *Ptolemæus; Stephanus; &c. &c.*

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Joseph and the infant *Jesus* here rested, in their flight from the fury of *Herod*. We breakfasted beneath the shade of a sycamore fig-tree, which is said to have opened and to have received the fugitives, when closely pursued[1]: and upon the spot we listened to many other stories of the same nature, the repetition of which even old *Sandys* considered to be "an abuse of time, and a provocation of his reader[2]." However, by imitating the conduct of the pilgrims, in breaking off and bearing away with us a few scions of this venerable tree, (as *Sandys* says[3], "*all to be hackt for the wood thereof, reputed of soveraigne vertue,*") we were enabled to gratify our botanical friends in *England* with very rare specimens for their herbaries[4]. The well of *Matarèa* is supposed to be represented in the

(1) See an Engraving of the *Well;* the edifice erected over it; and of this tree; in *Bernardino's Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa, &c. Firenze,* 1620. The representation includes the famous *Balsam Garden* of *Cleopatra,* which no longer exists. *Bernardino* was in *Egypt* in 1597.

(2) *Sandys'* Travels, p. 127. *Lond.* 1637. The reader, who wishes to consult a complete detail of all the *Christian* superstitions concerning *Cairo* and its neighbourhood, may find it in *Quaresmius, Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom.* II. *Antv.* 1639. His account of the *Sanctities* of *Matarèa* is given in p. 948 of that volume.

(3) Ibid.

(4) See Chap. II. p. 50.

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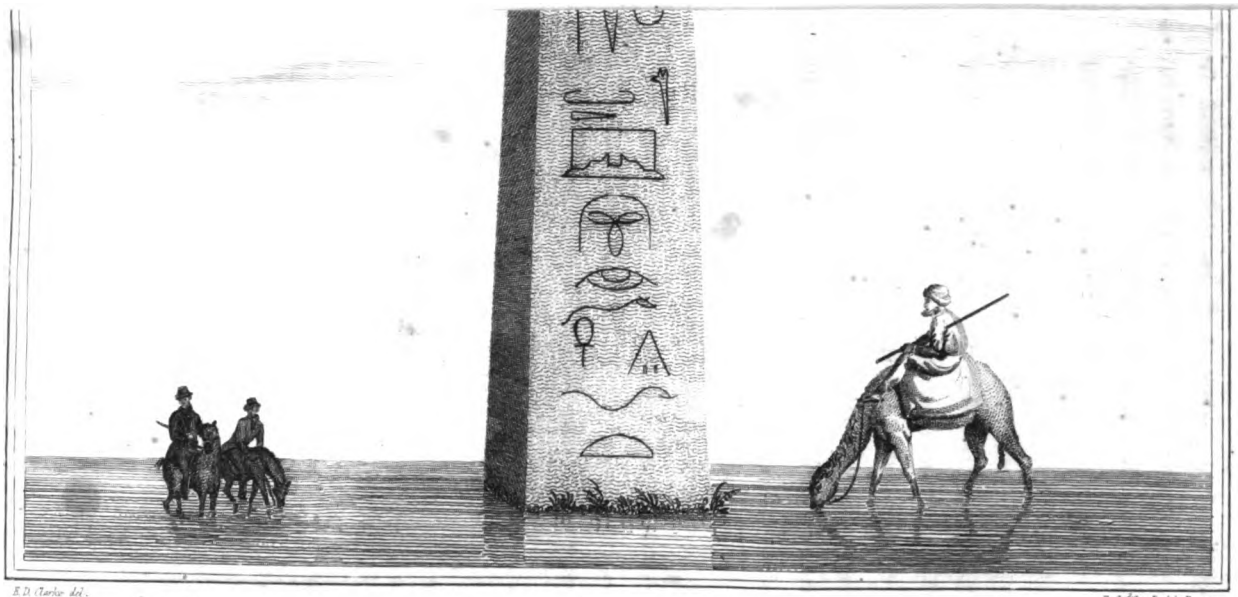

E.D. Clarke del.

Etch.d by Letitia Byrne.

OBELISK of HELIOPOLIS.

Published Nov.r 15.th 1819. by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand, London.

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famous *Mosaic pavement* of *Præneste*[5], where a view is also given of the *Temple of the Sun*, or *Bethshemesh* of sacred scripture[6], with the *obelisks*, as they stood before the vestibule of the building. CHAP. IV.

We then went to visit the renowned pillar of ON[7], or *Obelisk* of HELIOPOLIS, (the only great work of antiquity now remaining in all the *Land of Goshen*[8],) standing upon the spot where the *Hebrews* had their first settlement[9]. All the surrounding plain was at this time inundated, so that the *Obelisk* appeared as in the midst of a lake. The water was, however, shallow, and we rode upon our horses towards its base. The ground being here rather elevated, the author was enabled to gain a precarious footing Pillar of On.

(5) *Shaw's* Travels, sect. 7. ch. 2. p. 424. *Lond.* 1757. See also the history of this pavement in *Montfaucon's* Antiquities, vol. xiv.

(6) "He shall break also the Images of BETH-SHEMESH (i. e. *the house, or City of the Sun*) that is in the land of *Egypt*." *Jer.* xliii. 13.

(7) "And *Pharaoh* called *Joseph's* name *Zaphnath-paaneah*: and he gave him to wife *Asenath*, the daughter of *Poti-pherah* priest of ON." *Gen.* xli. 45. This name of the city is rendered Ἡλιουπόλεως by the LXXII. as is also the *Hebrew* word *Beth-shemesh*, mentioned in the preceding Note.

(8) See *Shaw's* Travels, tom. II. chap. 5.

(9) Συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει. "Concessit ei cum liberis suis *Heliopolin* habitare." *Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib.* ii. *cap.* 7. *tom.* I. *p.* 95. *Amst. &c.* 1726.

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in the midst of the pool, and leisurely to delineate the *hieroglyphics* which are rudely sculptured upon this superb monument. These have been already engraved, both by *Norden* and by *Shaw*; but in neither instance with accuracy[1]. From the coarseness of the sculpture, as well as the history of the city to which this *obelisk* belonged, there is reason to consider it as the oldest monument of the kind in *Egypt*[2]. Its height is between sixty and seventy feet[3]; its breadth, at the base, six feet: the whole being one entire mass of red *granite*. Each of its four sides exhibits the same hieroglyphic characters, and in the same order. That which faces the *south* has been the least affected by decomposition; and it is from the *southern* side that the author's design is taken. He has endeavoured to imitate the rude style of the

(1) The same may be said of the engraving of this obelisk in *Kircher's Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, where the *scarabæus pilularius* is introduced, instead of the rude symbol which appears upon the original, and which was probably intended to represent that insect.

(2) "Antiquissima fuit, ut origo etiam ad fabulas referatur." *Cellar. Geog. tom.* II. *Pars* 3. *p.* 42. *Lips.* 1706.

(3) *Shaw* makes its height equal only to sixty-four feet; (*Trav. p.* 336. *Lond.* 1757.) although he says "*other travellers have described it to be upwards of seventy.*" *Pococke* ascertained its height, by the quadrant, and found it to be sixty-seven feet and a half. *Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 23. *Lond.* 1743.

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antient sculpture, and to exhibit, as nearly as possible, a faithful representation of the original. CHAP IV.

After the remark made by *Strabo*, concerning the *hieroglyphics* of *Heliopolis*, that they much resembled the works left by the *Etrurians* and by the antient *Grecians*[4], a curiosity to see these in particular is naturally excited. They are remarkable for the rudeness of their style of sculpture; but in the representations given of them in books of Travels, the simplicity of the original work has been sacrificed, in attempting to express, from more perfect models, the intended delineation of the antient sculptor. Thus, in the view of this *obelisk*, published by *Shaw*, and also by *Norden*, many of the *hieroglyphic* figures are fancifully restored, under a notion of improving their appearance; and some are altogether omitted. In the first oval inclosure, from the top of the obelisk, there is a rude figure, something like what is vulgarly called a *bird-bolt*, with a circle above it. *Shaw* believed this to be intended for the *scarabæus pilularius*, which is so frequently seen upon

Style of the *Hieroglyphics.*

(4) Ἀναγλυφὰς δ' ἔχουσιν αἱ τοῖχοι οὗτοι μιγάλων εἰδώλων, ὁμοίων τοῖς Τυῤῥηνικοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις σφόδρα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημιουργημάτων. "Hi parietes ingentium simulacrorum sculpturas habent, *Etruscis* et antiquis *Græciæ* operibus per similium." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1142. *Ed. Oxon.* 1807.

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Egyptian monuments: accordingly, he completely restored the figure of the beetle, making it appear as a more perfect representation of what he had seen elsewhere[1]. *Norden* also did the same[2]. Possibly they were right in their conjectures as to the figure intended by the antient artist; but one proof of the great antiquity of this monument rests upon the style of the workmanship; and to misrepresent this, in copying the *hieroglyphics*, by any aim at superior delineation, is as barbarous as to exhibit an archaic inscription in modern characters[3].

The reader's curiosity to become acquainted with the hidden meaning of the symbols upon this *obelisk* is perhaps quite equal to that of the author; and if all that *Kircher* has written for its illustration be adequate to this effect, nothing is easier than to transcribe his observations[4]. But Isis long ago declared, that no mortal

(1) See the Plate facing p. 365, in *Shaw's* Travels. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) *Norden's* Travels, Plate facing p. 14. *Lond.* 1757.

(3) If the reader believe *Hasselquist*, he was able to distinguish every species of bird upon this pillar, which he calls the *handsomest obelisk in Egypt*. "I could know," says he, "a *strix* (owl) which stood uppermost on the top of the obelisk." *See Trav. to the East*, p. 99. *Lond.* 1766.—All other authors, and among these *Kircher*, have made the *strix* of *Hasselquist* a VULTURE.

(4) *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, p. 330. *Romæ*, 1654.

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had ever removed her veil[5]; and the impenetrable secret seems not likely to be divulged. One solitary fact has been vouchsafed to ages of restless inquiry upon this subject; namely, that the hieroglyphic characters constituted a *written language*[6], the signs of an antient alphabet, expressed according to the most antient mode of writing, in *capital letters*[7]: and it is probable that the more compound forms were a series of *monograms*, like the inscriptions upon the precious stones worn by the High Priest of the *Hebrews*, which were ordered to be made after the manner of "THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET[8]," and thus to contain within a very small compass, "AS STONES OF MEMORIAL," even upon "TWO ONYX-STONES, THE NAMES OF

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(5) Τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. *Plutarch. de Iside et Osir. cap.* 9.

(6) See the words of the *Greek* Inscription upon the *Ptolemaic* tablet found near *Rosetta*.

(7) The letters of the most antient written language of *Egypt*, according to *Diodorus*, were derived from the *Ethiopians*; and represented all sorts of beasts, the parts of the human body, and divers instruments. The capital letters of the *Armenian* alphabet (as published in the grammar printed by the *Propaganda Fidei*) are represented by animals: and it is observed by *Pococke*, who mentions this circumstance, (*Description of the East*, vol. I. p. 228. *London*, 1743,) that "*the names of some antient letters are the names of beasts.*"

(8) *Exodus* xxviii. 11.

(9) Ibid. ver. 12.

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THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL[1]. *Strabo's* observation upon the *Heliopolitan* sculpture is here of importance: he says, it resembled the workmanship of *Etrurians:* and by the similarity already noticed[2], between the letters of the *Etruscan* alphabet and the characters observed upon *Phœnician signets,* as well as the evident agreement of the signs upon *Phœnician* coins[3] with the *Egyptian hieroglyphics,* it may be inferred that the mode of writing used by the priests of *Egypt* corresponded with that which *Moses* caused to be engraven upon the stones for the ephod, and for the breast-plate of judgment, which are expressly and repeatedly described[4] as "THE WORKS OF AN ENGRAVER IN STONE, LIKE THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET."

But with reference to the inscription upon the *obelisk* at *Heliopolis,* and to the numerous examples of the same kind which have been noticed among the antiquities of *Egypt,* although

(1) *Exodus* xxviii. 9.

(2) See Vol. IV. of these Travels, p. 34. Octavo edition.

(3) Witness the appearance of the *Crux ansata* upon a *Phœnician* medal found in CYPRUS. *See Vignette to Chap.* II. *Vol.* IV. *of these Travels. Octavo edition.*

(4) *Exodus* xxviii. 11, 21.

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we be unable to explain any thing of their original import, there is one mode of considering them, in which a careful examination of the signs thus represented may be attended with amusement, if not with instruction. This consists, first, in ascertaining what the *archetypes* were of the several figures used to denote letters: these are sometimes clearly exhibited, but often confusedly sketched, as if with a view to abbreviation; and secondly, in using these documents, not only to illustrate the manners of the most antient nations, but also to prove the existence of many antient customs from their existing relics. In this point of view, the discoveries made by *Denon*[5] among the *hieroglyphics* of *Upper Egypt* are valuable. The light thrown upon the history of antient Architecture, and of the Arts and Sciences, by the figured representation of things as they existed in the earliest periods, will gratify a laudable curiosity, and may also answer the more important purpose of conveying historical information. The *hieroglyphics*

Archetypes of the *Hieroglyphics.*

(5) See *Denon's* account of the hieroglyphics in the Sepulchres of the antient Kings of THEBES. *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, vol.* II. *p.* 173. *London*, 1803.—Also of the hieroglyphics of "*Tentyra*," where he discovered the first models of the style of decoration improperly termed *Arabesque*, such as were executed in painting at the Baths of *Titus*, and copied by *Raphael*. *See vol.* I. *p.* 211.

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of *Heliopolis* perhaps afford less illustration of this kind than any other characters of the same nature; because the style of sculpture is here so rude, that many of the *archetypes*, whence the types of the inscription were derived, cannot now be ascertained; but, owing to their great antiquity, the few that can be discerned are worth notice. In the very summit of the *obelisk*, beneath the figure of a vulture, may be observed the *Crux ansata*[1]. The original

Crux ansata.

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(1) "Sed non erat ullum templum, in quo non figura *crucis ansatæ*, ut eam eruditi vocant, sæpius visenda occurreret, hodieque in ruderibus ac ruinis etiamnum occurrat. Ejus hæc est species ☥ .... Crucem vero istam ansatam, quæ in omnibus Ægyptiorum templis sæpius ficta et picta extabat, quam signa Deorum Ægyptiorum manu tenere solent, quæ partem facit ornatus sacerdotalis, nihil aliud esse quam phallum," &c. (*Vide Jablonski Panth. Ægypt.* I. 282.) *Jamblichus* thinks the *Crux ansata* was the name of the Divine Being. *Sozomen*, and other *Christian* writers, (*Vide Sozomen. Eccl. Hist. lib.* vii. *c.* 15. *Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. lib.* ii. *c.* 29.) conceive the whole figure, or at least the cross, to be expressive of the *life to come*;" deriving this opinion from the explanation given of it by those of the *Heathens* who understood the *hieroglyphics*, and were converted to *Christianity*. Sometimes it is represented by a *cross* fastened to a *circle*, as above; in other instances, with the *letter* T only, fixed in this manner ☥ to *a circle*. By the *circle*, says *Kircher* (*Prod. Copt. p.* 169), is to be understood the Creator and Preserver of the world; as the wisdom derived from him, which directs and governs it, is signified by the ✚, T, the *monogram*, as he further conjectures, of *Mercury*, *Thoth*, *Tuaut*, or ΦT *Ptha*. "It is certainly very extraordinary," (says *Shaw*, who has collected almost every information upon this subject,) "and worthy of our notice, that this *crux ansata* should be so often in their symbolical writings; either alone, or held in

of this curious type was the sort of *key* in use among the Antients, which generally appears fastened to a ring. Sometimes it is seen annexed to a rosary of beads, as in the remarkable instance where the same symbol appears upon a *Phœnician* medal[2] found at *Citium* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, of which an engraving was given in the preceding section[3]. This kind of *key* is not entirely banished from modern use; and such instruments have been discovered in the ruins of antient cities. They are often seen in the hands of *Egyptian* statues. Two were represented, as pendent from hooks, upon a *hieroglyphical* tablet found near the *Pyramids* by *Paul Lucas*[4]. The archetype of this symbol may possibly therefore have been a *key*. It is not the less likely to answer to *Jablonski*'s explanation of it on this account[5]. We have historical

in the hands, or suspended over the necks, of their deities. Beetles, and such other sacred animals and symbols, as were bored through, and intended for, amulets, had this figure frequently impressed upon them." (*See Shaw's Trav. p.* 360. *Lond.* 1757.) The same author considers it to be the same with *the ineffable image of Eternity*, noticed by *Suidas*. *Vide Euseb. Præf. Evan. p.* 69.

(2) It seems to have as much reference to *Phœnicia*, as to *Egypt*. Upon a medal of *Sidon*, the cross appears carried by *Minerva* in a boat.

(3) See Vignette to Chapter II. Vol. IV. Octavo edition.

(4) See the Engraving of this in the Second Volume of his Travels, as published at *Amsterdam* in 1744, tom. II. p. 130.

(5) See Note in opposite page, containing an extract from *Jablonski*, upon

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Meaning of the *Crux Ansata.*

information relative to the meaning of the *Crux ansata.* Indeed, it may be considered as the only *hieroglyphical* type concerning whose import we have any certain intelligence. The singular appearance of *a Cross* so frequently recurring among the *hieroglyphics* of *Egypt*, had excited the curiosity of the *Christians* in a very early period of ecclesiastical history[1]; and as some of the priests[2], who were acquainted with the meaning of the *hieroglyphics*, became converted to *Christianity*, the secret transpired. "The converted *Heathens*," says *Socrates Scholasticus*[3],

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upon the meaning of the *Crux ansata*. The women of *Naples* wear it as a pendant for the ear; annexing to this ornament the signification which *Jablonski* has given of the *Crux ansata*: but the use of the metaphorical verb *Chiavare*, in their language, proves that the same interpretation is applicable to a *key*. An observation occurs in *Athenæus* where the *letter* T is deemed *obscene*.

(1) The *Serapeum* at *Alexandria* was destroyed about the year 389. It was at the destruction of this building that the *Christians* first became acquainted with the meaning of the *Cross* among the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics.

(2) No liberty is here taken, either with the text of *Rufinus* or of *Socrates*, in saying *the priests*; because no others possessed a knowledge of the sacred writing.

(3) Τούτων δὲ ἀμφισβητουμένων, τινὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῷ Χριστιανισμῷ προσελήντες, τὰ ἱερογλυφικὰ τὰ γράμματα ἱστόρησαν, διερμηνεύοντες τὸν σταυροειδῆ χαρακτῆρα, ἴλιγγον σημαίνειν ζωὴν ἱστορήσαντες. "Dum hæc inter illos agitatur controversia, quidam ex Gentilium errore ad Christi fidem conversi, qui hujusmodi literarum notitiam habebant, notam hanc crucis forma depictam interpretantes, venturam vitam significare docuerunt."

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"explained the symbol; and declared that it signified 'LIFE TO COME.'" *Ruffinus* mentions the same fact[4]. *Kircher*'s ingenuity had guided him to an explanation of the *Crux ansata*, as a *monogram*, which does not militate against the signification thus obtained. He says, it consisted of the letters ΦΤ, denoting *Ptha*, a name of *Mercury*[5]; and the name of this deity, as a *conductor of the souls of the dead*, might well be used with reference to a state of *existence after death*. But as every *Egyptian monogram* had its archetype in some animal, or instrument of common use, and the original of the *Crux ansata* seems to have been *a key*, we may perhaps, by attending to this curious circumstance, arrive at the origin of those allegorical allusions to a *key*, which, with reference to *a future state of existence*, are introduced into the Holy Scriptures. Such an illusion is made in the prophecies of *Isaiah*, concerning the kingdom of *Christ*[6]. Our Saviour

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docuerunt." *Socrat. Scholast. Histor. Ecclesiast. lib.* v. *c.* 17. *p.* 276. *Paris*, 1668.—The reader will do well to consult the whole chapter, which contains very curious information.

(4) *Ruffin.* Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 29. See also *Heliod.* Æthiop. lib. iii. p. 148.

(5) *Kircher.* Prod. Copt. p. 169. See also a former Note upon the *Crux ansata*.

(6) "The *key* of the house of *David* will I lay upon his shoulder." *Isaiah* xxii. 22.

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says unto *Peter*[1], "I WILL GIVE UNTO THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN:" and the author of the book of Revelations, as if the sacred symbols of antient *Egypt* had suggested the image to his mind, describes the Angel of *the Resurrection*[2] as having in his hand *a key*. Also, in the sublime prophecy concerning the second advent of the Messiah, a similar allusion may be noticed[3]: "I AM HE THAT LIVETH AND WAS DEAD; AND, BEHOLD, I AM ALIVE FOR EVERMORE, AMEN; AND HAVE THE KEYS OF HELL AND OF DEATH."

Among the other signs used to express words upon this monument, there is one, respecting which our information is not attended with the same certainty as in the preceding instance, although its meaning be not entirely unknown. This is the curious *monogram*, called *Hieralpha* by *Kircher*[4], composed of the *Greek* letters A and Δ,

Hieralpha.

(1) *Matthew* xvi. 19.

(2) "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the *key* of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand." *Revel.* xx. 1.

(3) *Revel.* i. 18.

(4) "Hic character idem significat, quod Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, id est, *Bonus Genius*; et componitur ex initialibus literis A et Δ. Si enim producitur Δ litera, fiat Λ, quod in se monogrammaticè continet Δ et

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which he explains, from *Plutarch*, to signify *Agatho Dæmon*, and to have had for its archetype an *Ibis*, in a particular attitude[5]. It may be observed near the centre of the *obelisk*, immediately above another figure of the *Crux ansata*, similar to that which has been already described. *Pauw* ridicules *Kircher*'s notion; admitting, at the same time, a resemblance between the first letter of the *Greek* alphabet and the *Theban plough*[6]. Now the *plough* was, in fact, an archetype of the symbol which *Kircher*

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et A; invenitur autem hæc litera hieroglyphica in omnibus ferè Ægyptiacis inscriptionibus, &c. quam et *Hieralpham* imposterum vocabimus." (*Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt. Theatrum Hieroglyphicum, tom.* III. *p.* 50. *Rom.* 1654.) Also (*in Prod. Copt. p.* 231.) the same author says, " Hoc *μονόγραμμον* A, ex Δ et A compositum, in nullo non obelisco frequentissimum, Ægyptiarum vocum ΑΓΑΘΟC ΔΕΜΟΝ, quibus bonum genium *Deltæ* Nili seu *Ægypti* signant, index; cum præter dictarum vocum capitales literas, ejus quoque *Ægypti* portionis figuram quam Δ passim vocant, clare dictum *μονόγραμμον* exprimat."

(5) Ἶβὶς τὸ σκῶ τῇ τῶν πόδων διαστάσει πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ σκὸς τὸ ῥύγχος ἰσόπλευρον τρίγωνον. " *Ibis pedum divaricatione eorum inter se, et cum rostro comparatione, triangulum refert æquilaterum.*" *Plutarch. Sympos.* 5. Also Ἑρμῆς λέγεται Θεῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γράμματα σφῶσι εὑρεῖν, διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμμάτων Αἰγύπτιοι σφῶσιν Ἶβιν γράφουσι, ὡς Ἑρμῇ (Ἀγαθοδαίμονι) σφοήκουσαν. " Mercurius primus Deorum in Ægypto traditur invenisse literas, atque adeo Ibin Ægyptii primam literam faciunt Mercurio, videlicet Agathodæmoni, convenientem." *Id. in lib.* ix. *Sympos.* 2, 3. *See also Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. Theat. Hieroglyph. p.* 43. *Rom.* 1654.

(6) Philosoph. Diss. &c. vol. II. p. 121. *Lond.* 1795.

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calls *Hieralpha:* and although *Pauw* have proved this point, perhaps beyond dispute, yet something may still be added in its confirmation. The sort of *hand-plough*, represented as a sceptre in the hands of the priests and kings of *Egypt*[1], is still used by many of the *Celtic* tribes. The author has also seen it in *Lapland*. It has this form, ⅄ which precisely corresponds (although in an inverted position) with the sort of sceptre mentioned by *Diodorus*, and denominated *Hieralpha* by *Kircher*. There are also a few symbols rendered interesting in the representations they offer of instruments still used by modern nations, without any deviation from their most antient form: such, for example, as the *Testudo*, or *Cithara*, of the Antients, a two-stringed lyre, constructed of the shell of a land-tortoise, common to all the shores of the *Mediterranean*. It corresponds with the *Balalaika* of the *Russians*, and is in use among the *Calmucks*[2]. This instrument is believed to be the ΦΟΡΜΙΓΞ of *Homer*[3]. It may be observed about half way

Testudo.

(1) *Philosoph. Diss. &c. ibid. Vid. Diod. Sic. lib.* iv. *Tibullus, lib.* i.
"Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro solicitavit humum."

(2) See Part I. of these Travels, Chap. XII. p. 244. *Second Edit.*

(3) The author is indebted for this observation to a letter he received from *R. P. Knight*, Esq. soon after the publication of the First

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up the face of the obelisk, upon the left hand, placed by the side of an axe or hatchet. The sort of staff, capped with the representation of an animal's head, which is seen in the hands of *Egyptian* deities among their hieroglyphic figures, and frequently delineated upon *Greek* vases, as a badge of distinction worn by *Grecian* Hierarchs, is yet in use among the *Patriarchs* and Bishops of the *Greek* Church; and this may be observed in two instances upon the *Heliopolitan* pillar. For the rest, the reader, if he have patience for the inquiry, may be referred to *Kircher*[4]: who has written a particular

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First Part of these Travels. Alluding to the account given in p. 320 of Vol. I. (8*vo. edit.*) of a two-stringed lyre represented in the *Calmuck* paintings, Mr. *Knight* said that he considered this instrument to be the same which *Homer* mentions, under the name of Φορμίγξ:

Τῶσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι κιθὶς φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
Ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε.—— *Iliad.* Σ. 569.

(4) *Vid. Syntagma* VIII. *Theat. Hieroglyph. Œdipi Ægyptiaci, tom.* III. *p.* 330. *Rom.* 1654. *Kircher's* account of this *obelisk* is divided into four distinct chapters: 1. "*De origine Obelisci Heliopolitani.*" 2. "*De erectione et mensurâ Obelisci.*" 3. "*Argumentum hujus Obelisci.*" 4. *Interpretatio Obelisci.*" Of these, the reader will in all probability rest satisfied with the two first: these, being historical, are valuable. An examination of *Kircher's* work will offer a striking example of the patient research and amazing erudition which characterized the learned labours of the *Jesuits;* but when he proceeds to the interpretation of the *hieroglyphics* in detail, his reveries may be compared to the feverish dreams of a scholar, who, from intense application to his studies, is visited with a continual recurrence of *postulates* unattended by a single *conclusion.*

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dissertation upon this *obelisk*, and, in his endeavour to explain its symbols in detail, has brought together all that his vast erudition enabled him to communicate; although it must be evident, since the discovery of a *Greek* translation of *hieroglyphics* upon the *Rosetta Stone*, that the interpretation proposed by him, of these characters, cannot accord with their real signification.

With the description of this *obelisk* the author is compelled to terminate his very limited observations concerning *Heliopolis:* for such is the solitary remnant of a city and of an University where *Herodotus* was instructed in the wisdom of the *Egyptians;* and where, eighteen hundred years ago, the *schools*[3] of *Plato* and of *Eudoxus* were shewn to *Roman* travellers; as, in some future age, the places where a *Locke* and a *Newton* held their disputations may be pointed out among the mouldering edifices of *Oxford* and of *Cambridge*. That other monuments, equally entitled to consideration, may possibly exist

(1) ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΑΙ dicuntur *Philosophorum congressus* ac *disputationes*, quæ Plut. διατριβαὶ περὶ λόγους. Item locus, in quo διατρίβουσι περὶ τὶ, ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ dicitur. Sic leg. Strab. Ἐκεῖ οὖν ἐδείκνυντο οἵ τε τῶν ἱερέων οἶκοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί. "Ostendebantur ergo ibi sacerdotum ædes, ac domicilia in quibus Eudoxus et Plato egerant." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1143. *Ed. Oxon.*

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around this pillar, concealed only by a thin superficies of soil, can hardly be doubted; and these, succeeding travellers may bring to light. The antiquities observed by *Pococke* are probably among the number. Yet, if this alone continue to mark the situation of *Heliopolis*, the evidence it affords, when added to other proofs, will be sufficient to identify the locality of the city. Indeed, when it is considered that *Heliopolis* was altogether a deserted city so long ago as the time of *Strabo*[2], and that the *Romans* carried from *Egypt* so many of its antient monuments, it is surprising that this obelisk, stupendous as it is, remains in its original position. Among several trophies of this description, which were removed to *Italy*, *Strabo* mentions two obelisks that were carried to *Rome* from the ruins of *Heliopolis*[3]. According to *Pliny*, the first monuments of this kind that were raised in *Egypt* were placed within this city[4]; and the

History of the *Obelisk*.

(2) Πανέρημος ἡ πόλις—"Omnino urbs deserta est." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *tom.* II. *p.* 1142. *Ed Oxon.* 1807.

(3) Ὧν δύο καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθησαν, οἱ μὴ κεκακωμένοι τελέως. "Quorum duo Romam delati sunt, non omnino corrupti." *Ibid.*

(4) "Primus omnium id instituit *Mitres*, qui *in Solis urbe* regnabat, somnio jussus: *et hoc ipsum inscriptum est in eo:* etenim sculpturæ illæ effigiesque, quas videmus, EGYPTIÆ SUNT LITERÆ. Postea et alii regum in supra dicta urbe." *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 8. *tom.* III. *p.* 481. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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elevation assigned by him to each of the four obelisks erected here by *Sochis*, so nearly corresponds with the measure of the one which now remains, that, making allowance for its pedestal, its height would be the same[1]. Owing to this circumstance, *Pococke*[2] and *Shaw*[3] consider it as one of the four mentioned by *Pliny*. *Diodorus* relates[4], that two other obelisks were erected at *Heliopolis* by *Sesostris*; but each of these was one hundred and twenty cubits in height, and eight in breadth; an elevation, therefore, much too considerable to correspond with the present appearance of this pillar.

After leaving this place, the author was so much exhausted by fatigue, that he returned to *Caïro*, across the sandy plain of the desert which lies east of the city, and extends all the way from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*. Mr. *Cripps*,

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(1) That is to say, 48 cubits; and admitting the *Roman* cubit to equal 18 inches, the whole height of the obelisk would be 72 feet. *Pococke* found the height of that part of the obelisk which is above the surface of the soil to equal 67 feet, measuring it by a quadrant. *Shaw* took its elevation "*by the proportion of shadows*," and made it only sixty-four feet; thereby allowing *eight* feet for the pedestal. *Pococke*'s mensuration allows only *five*.

(2) Descript. of the *East*, vol. I. p. 23. *Lond.* 1743.

(3) Travels, p. 366. *Lond.* 1757.

(4) *Diod.* Sic. Biblioth. lib. i. p. 38. *Hanov.* 1604.

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accompanied by Mr. *Hammer*, and by Mr. *Hamilton*, then secretary of our Ambassador at *Constantinople*, continued their journey as far as the *Pilgrim's Lake*, whence the canal is supposed to have extended to the *Red Sea*; and returned afterwards by the route which the author had taken. They found, at the lake, the remains of a very large *Caravanserai*, and discerned the traces of a *cahal*, bearing thence towards the south-east, in the direction of *Suez*. But the most curious objects noticed in this part of the day's journey were presented to our whole party where we least expected to find any thing remarkable; namely, in the mineral productions of the desert itself. A beautiful and well-known variety of *jasper*, commonly called *Egyptian Pebble*, is found in such abundance, among masses of the most curious *mineralized wood*, upon the surface of the sands, over all the district eastward of *Grand Cairo*, even to the borders of the *Red Sea*, that specimens might be obtained in sufficient abundance to serve as ballast for a vessel bound from *Suez* to *England*. The author had collected almost enough to load a camel before he arrived at the walls of the city; but when the rest of the party returned, they brought with them a more considerable burden. Among these were large blocks of

Minerals of the Arabian Desert.

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Petrifactions.

petrified *palm-tree*, of which Mr. *Cripps* had collected a very great variety. They found these masses lying in detached fragments among the loose sand, wholly disengaged from any other *stratum*, and scattered over the face of the desert. In the same manner, but more frequently, appeared the large pebbles of *Egyptian jasper*, being almost always of a flattened ovate shape. This mineral is too well known to require a more particular description; but who can explain its origin? The received opinion, and that which daily experience confirms, respecting siliceous concretions in general, is this, that they have been deposited, after a stalactical process, in the fissures and cavities left by air in substances of anterior formation. Admitting, therefore, that every one of these *Egyptian* pebbles once occupied such cavities, in strata now reduced to a pulverized state, and since become the sand of the desert, what idea can be formed of the antiquity of this kind of *jasper*? Unlike other flinty substances, it seems to be almost incapable of decomposition by exposure to the atmosphere; having, as an exterior crust, a thin investment of a reddish brown colour, which differs in appearance only from the nature of the stone itself; its chemical constituents being precisely the same. Masses of pure *silex*,

Doubtful Origin of Egyptian jasper.

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and some *chalcedonies* containing almost as much *alumine* as the *Egyptian jasper*, when thus exposed to the continued action of air and moisture, gradually decompose, and assume the white colour common to the matter of *silex* when in a state of extreme division. But these pebbles, although constantly exposed to the nightly dews of a country where water falls during the night as abundantly as heavy rain, and to the powerful rays of a burning sun during the day, have sustained little or no alteration. They have also another very remarkable character. Although they be destitute of that whitish surface which is common to every *siliceous* body long acted upon by the atmosphere, they are always characterized by a lighter colour towards the center of each pebble; and this is sometimes white. They vary in their size, from that of a hen's egg to the egg of an ostrich; but are rarely larger, and always appear more or less flattened, so as to exhibit a superior and an inferior elliptical surface upon each specimen. The masses of *mineralized* or *petrified wood* had no regularity of shape, except that parasitical form which the mineral, thus modified, had derived from the vegetable whose fibres it had penetrated when in a fluid state. It is evident, therefore, that these pebbles do not owe their

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spheroidal shape to the effect of any previous attrition in water; because the masses of *mineralized wood*, possessing a degree of hardness inferior to the *jasper*, and being associated with it, would also have undergone a similar change. *Pococke*, and, more recently, that intelligent traveller *Browne*, noticed these appearances in the deserts; the first on the *Arabian*, and the last on the *Libyan* side of the *Nile*[1]. *Pococke* seems to have observed the examples he alludes to, upon the same spot where we found them, or very near to it, for they occurred in the first part of his journey from *Grand Caïro* to *Suez*[2]. *Shaw* mentions, also, his having observed instances of the same kind, on the isthmus between *Caïro* and *Suez*; and the fabulous accounts of the famous *Ras Sem*, or *petrified village* in the *Cyrenaïca*, are supposed by him to have derived their origin from similar phænomena[3]. *Shaw* notices a method by which the petrified palm-tree may be distinguished from

(1) Travels in *Africa*, from the year 1792 to 1798, by *W. G. Browne*.

(2) "I observed in the road many stones that looked like petrified wood . . . . . I saw one piece that seemed to have been a large body of a tree." *Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.*131. *Lond.* 1743.

(3) See *Shaw*'s account of the *petrified village*, or *city*, at *Ras Sem*, in the province of *Dasha*, in the kingdom of TRIPOLY. *Travels, p.* 155. *Lond.* 1757.

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any other mineralized wood. He says[4], the fibres, as in the living plant, "do not run straight and parallel as in other trees; but are for the most part oblique, or diverging from one another, in an angle of about ten degrees."

Dates and Corn.

In the gardens and cultivated grounds near the *Nile*, the inhabitants were now beginning (*August* 22) to collect the dates; but the corn was still out, in some places. The mercury in the thermometer, at noon this day, when observed in the desert east of *Heliopolis*, did not stand higher than 87° of *Fahrenheit*. The heat in *England* has been sometimes almost equal to this in the month of *September*.

The facility with which the *Arabs* run up and down the date-trees, at first sight surprises a stranger; but when the attempt is made, nothing can be easier. A series of cavities in the bark of those trees, as if purposely excavated to admit the hands and feet, render the ascent, and descent, as practicable as upon the steps of a ladder. We frequently climbed to the top of the tallest palm-trees by means of this natural staircase.

(4) Ibid. p. 161.

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CHAP. IV.

ALMEHS.

In the evening after our arrival, some of our party went to an exhibition of the *Almehs*, or *Dancing* women, at the house of a lady of some distinction, and where it was believed this curious remnant of antient *Egyptian* ceremonies might be unattended with those violations of decorum by which they are generally characterized. This, however, was not the case. The dance was, as usual, destitute of grace, activity, or decency. It consists wholly of gestures, calculated to express, in the most gross and revolting manner, the intercourse of the sexes. In any part of *Europe*, if it were tolerated, it would be thought a degrading and wretched performance; yet the ladies of *Caïro*, accustomed to the introduction of these women upon festival days, regard the exercise of the *Almehs* with amusement, and even with applause. If we may judge from the representations upon *Grecian* vases, the female Bacchanals of Antient *Greece* exhibited in their dances a much more animated and more graceful appearance: yet the manner of dancing practised by the *Almehs*, however offensive in the eyes of civilized nations, is the most antient. Hence the observation of *Cicero*[1], "NEMO SALTAT SOBRIUS, NISI

(1) Orat. pro *Muræná*.

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FORTE INSANIT:" and if the history of this exercise be traced to its origin, it will be found to have nearly the same character all over the world. In the anger of *Moses* at the dancing of the *Israelites*[2]; in the reproach cast upon *David*, by *Michal* the daughter of *Saul*, for his conduct when dancing before the ark[3]; in the gratification afforded to *Herod* by the dance of *Salome*[4]; we may perceive what were the characteristics of primæval dances: and if curiosity should lead any one to inquire what sort of dancing is found among modern nations, where the exercise has not been refined by civilization, his attention may be directed to the *Tarantello* of *Italy*, the *Fandango* of *Spain*, the *Barina* of *Russia*, the *Calenda* of *Africa*, and the *Timorodee* of *Otaheite*. *Egypt*, where no lapse of time seems to have effected change, where the constancy of natural phænomena appears to have been always accompanied with the same uniformity of manners and customs, *Egypt* preserves its pristine attachment to a licentious dance; and exhibits that dance as it was beheld, above three thousand years ago, in the annual

(2) *Exod.* xxxii. 19.

(3) 2 *Samuel* vi. 20.

(4) *Matth.* xiv. *Mark* vi. *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib.* xviii. *c.* 2.

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procession to *Bubastus*, when the female votaries of *Diana* distinguished themselves in the cities through which they passed by indecency and dancing[1]. Considered therefore with reference to the moral character and habits of the people, as well as to their antient history, this practice of the *Almehs* may be entitled to some notice. Indeed, the part they sustain in the scale of society in *Egypt* is so considerable, and the partiality shewn to them so inveterate[2], that it is impossible to give a faithful account of the country without some allusion to these women. They wear upon their fingers little bells, like

(1) *Herodot. Euterpe, c.* 60.

(2) "*Il n'est point de fête sans elles; point de festin dont elles ne fassent l'ornément. . . . . Les* ALME *sont appellées dans tous les* HAREM. . . . . *Les* ALME *assistent aux cérémonie de marriage, et marchent devant la mariée en jouant des instrumens. Elles figurent aussi dans les enterremens, et accompagnent le convoi en chantant des airs funèbres. Elles poussent des gémissemens,*" &c. *Savary, Lett. sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *pp.* 150, 152, 154. *Paris*, 1785. Strangers who reside for some time in *Caïro*, however disgusted by the exhibition of the *Almehs* at first, gradually adopt the taste of the native inhabitants. Of this we find an instance in *Niebuhr's* Travels. "However much disposed to receive entertainment, they did not please us at first; their vocal and instrumental music we thought horrible; and their persons appeared disgustingly ugly, with their yellow hands, spotted faces, absurd ornaments, and hair larded with stinking pomatum. But by degrees we learned to endure them, and, for want of better, began to fancy some of them pretty, to imagine their voices agreeable, their movements graceful, though indecent, and their music not absolutely intolerable." *Travels in Arabia, vol.* I. *p.* 140. *Edinb.* 1792.

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small cymbals, which they use as the *Italians* and *Spaniards* do their *castagnettes*. They have also tambours of different kinds. The form of one of these seems to have been derived from that of the common pumpkin, which is frequent among the vegetables of *Egypt*; for, although the tambour be made of wood, it has exactly the appearance of half a large pumpkin, scooped, with a skin bound over it. The *Arabs* use hollow pumpkins, when dried, as bottles to contain water: these becoming hard, are very durable, and may have preceded the use of a hollow hemisphere of wood, in the manufacture of a tambour. The dances of the *Almehs* are accompanied by vocal as well as by instrumental music; if that may be termed vocal, which consists of a continual recurrence of the same shrill sounds, caused by trilling the tongue against the roof of the mouth, without the utterance of any distinct words. Yet this singular mode of expressing joy is all that constitutes the *Alleluïa* of the Antients. When Lord *Hutchinson* first entered *Caïro*, after the capture of the city, he was met by a number of women who greeted him with *Alleluïas*: they accompanied him through the streets, clapping their hands, and making this extraordinary noise, in a loud and shrill tone. It seems to be

Of the *Alleluïa* and Cry of Lamentation.

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a constant repetition of the same syllable, *il*, or *al*; uttered in this manner, *Alalalalalalalalal*, with the utmost rapidity, and without interruption or pause of any kind. The person who is able to continue this kind of scream for the longest time, without drawing breath, is supposed to be the best performer. The same sort of singing is practised by the *Almehs* at funerals, with this difference: the *Alleluïa*, or cry of joy, consists in a repetition of the syllable *al*; and that which is used to denote grief, is formed by a similar repetition of the syllable *úl*, or *el*, constituting the long protracted *elelelelelú*, or *ululation*[1]. The tone of voice continues the same through both of these; the *Alleluia*, and the *Ululation:* but there seemed to be this distinction in the manner of delivering the sounds; that in the former, it was a tremulous note ascending; in the latter, the same note descending in continual cadences. However, it is exceedingly difficult, as perhaps the reader has already perceived, to convey, or to obtain, ideas of musical sounds by means of a mere verbal description.

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(1) In the *Prometheus Vinctus* of *Æschylus*, Io utters this cry of lamentation, Ἐλελελελελεῦ, which the Scholiast denominates Θρήνου ἐπίφθεγμα. *See Pauw's Æschylus, tom.* I. *p.* 88, 877. *Hag. Com.* 1745. *Stanley, Blomfield, &c.*

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CHAP. IV.

Voyage to the Pyramids.

Upon the twenty-third of *August* we set out for the PYRAMIDS, the inundation enabling us to approach within less than a mile of the larger *pyramid*, in our *djerm*. Messrs. *Hammer* and *Hamilton* accompanied us. We arrived at *Djiza* by day-break, and called upon some *English* officers who wished to join our party upon this occasion. From *Djiza*, our approach to the *Pyramids* was through a swampy country, by means of a narrow canal, which however was deep enough; and we arrived without any obstacle, at nine o'clock, at the bottom of a sandy slope, leading up to the principal *pyramid*. Some *Bedouin Arabs*, who had assembled to receive us upon our landing, were much amused by the eagerness excited in our whole party, to prove who should first set his foot upon the summit of this artificial mountain. As we drew near its base, the effect of its prodigious magnitude, and the amazement caused in viewing the enormous masses used in its construction, affected every one of us; but it was an impression of awe and fear, rather than of pleasure. In the observations of travellers who had recently preceded us, we had heard the *Pyramids* described as huge objects which gave no satisfaction to the spectator, on account of their barbarous shape, and formal appearance:

Appearance presented by the principal *Pyramid*.

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yet to us it appeared hardly possible, that persons susceptible of any feeling of sublimity could behold them unmoved. With what amazement did we survey the vast surface that was presented to us, when we arrived at this stupendous monument, which seemed to reach the clouds! Here and there appeared some *Arab* guides upon the immense masses above us, like so many pigmies, waiting to shew the way up to the summit. Now and then we thought we heard voices, and listened; but it was the wind, in powerful gusts, sweeping the immense ranges of stone. Already some of our party had begun the ascent, and were pausing at the tremendous depth which they saw below. One of our military companions, after having surmounted the most difficult part of the undertaking, became giddy in consequence of looking down from the elevation he had attained; and being compelled to abandon the project, he engaged an *Arab* to assist him in effecting his descent. The rest of us, more accustomed to the business of climbing heights, with many a halt for respiration, and many an exclamation of wonder, pursued our way towards the summit. The mode of ascent has been frequently described; and yet, from the questions which are often proposed to travellers, it does not

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appear to be generally understood. The reader may imagine himself to be upon a staircase, every step of which, to a man of middle stature, is nearly breast high[1]; and the breadth of each step is equal to its height: consequently, the footing is secure; and although a retrospect, in going up, be sometimes fearful to persons unaccustomed to look down from any considerable elevation, yet there is little danger of falling. In some places, indeed, where the stones are decayed, caution may be required; and an *Arab* guide is always necessary, to avoid a total interruption; but, upon the whole, the means of ascent are such, that almost every one may accomplish it[2]. Our progress was impeded

(1) "The stones, wherewith the *Pyramids* are built, are from five to thirty feet long. *(Herodotus makes none of these stones less than thirty feet)*, and from three to four feet high." *Shaw's Travels, p.* 367. *Lond.* 1757.

(2) Upon this account, when we reached the top of the *pyramid*, we sent an *Arab* with a short note to the officer who had abandoned the undertaking, urging him to renew the attempt. After some time, the messenger returned, but without our companion. The author, hearing this, went down to him, and found him in the entrance to the *pyramid*, sitting with some *Arabs* in the shade afforded by the large projecting masses of stone; and, having with some difficulty prevailed upon him to renew the attempt, succeeded in conducting him to the top. He expressed himself unwilling to return without having gratified his curiosity by a view from the summit; but confessed that the effect

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by other causes. We carried with us a few instruments; such as, our boat-compass, a thermometer, a telescope, &c.; these could not be trusted in the hands of the *Arabs*, and they were liable to be broken every instant. At length we reached the topmost tier, to the great delight and satisfaction of all the party. Here we found a platform, thirty-two feet square; consisting of nine large stones, each of which might weigh about a ton; although they be much inferior in size to some of the stones used in the construction of this *pyramid*. Travellers of all ages, and of various nations, have here inscribed their names. Some are written in *Greek;* many in *French;* a few in *Arabic;* one or two in *English;* and others in *Latin*. We

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effect produced upon his mind, by the stupendous sight around him, was rather painful than pleasing, and had rendered him wholly unfit for the exertion it required. It is to this circumstance that allusion was before made (*See Chap.* II. *p.* 45); and it confirms the truth of Mr. *Burke*'s observations, upon the impressions to which men are liable, who, without the smallest personal danger, are exposed to the contemplation of objects exceedingly vast in their dimensions. Mr. *Burke* describes the impression produced by *the sublime* as bordering upon a sensation of pain; illustrating this by reference to a person standing in perfect security beneath a precipice, and looking up towards its summit. (*See Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime, &c. by Edmund Burke. Sect.* 27. *Part* 3. *p.* 237, &c. *Lond.* 1782.

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were as desirous as our predecessors[1] to leave a memorial of our arrival; it seemed to be a tribute of thankfulness, due for the success of our undertaking; and presently every one of our party was seen busied in adding the inscription of his name[2].

Upon this area, which looks like a point when seen from *Caïro*, or from the *Nile*, it is extraordinary that none of those numerous hermits fixed their abode, who retired to the tops of columns, and to almost inaccessible solitudes upon the pinnacles of the highest rocks. It offers a much more convenient and secure retreat than was selected by an ascetic who pitched his residence upon the architrave of a temple in the vicinity of *Athens*. The heat, according to *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer, at the time of our coming, did not exceed 84°; and the same temperature continued during the time we remained, a strong wind blowing from the north-west. The view from this eminence

(1) "Après que nous eûmes gravé nos noms sur le sommet de la pyramide, nous descendîmes," &c. *Savary Lett. sur l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 188. *Par.* 1785.

(2) In order to prove how commodious a station this place affords, it may be mentioned, that the author was enabled to write upon the spot a letter to a friend in *England*.

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Objects seen from the Summit.

amply fulfilled our expectations; nor do the accounts which have been given of it, as it appears at this season of the year, exaggerate the novelty and grandeur of the sight. All the region towards *Caïro* and the *Delta* resembled a sea, covered with innumerable islands. Forests of palm-trees were seen standing in the water; the inundation spreading over the land where they stood, so as to give them an appearance of growing in the flood. To the north, as far as the eye could reach, nothing could be discerned, but a watery surface thus diversified by plantations and by villages. To the south we saw the *Pyramids of Saccára;* and upon the east of these, smaller monuments of the same kind, nearer to the *Nile.* An appearance of ruins might indeed be traced the whole way from the *Pyramids of Djiza* to those of *Saccára;* as if they had been once connected so as to constitute one vast cœmetery. Beyond the *Pyramids of Saccára* we could perceive the distant mountains of the SAÏD; and upon an eminence near the *Libyan* side of the *Nile* there appeared a monastery of considerable size. Towards the *west* and *south-west,* the eye ranged over the great *Libyan* Desert, extending to the utmost verge of the horizon, without a single object to interrupt the dreary horror of the landscape,

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except dark floating spots, caused by the shadows of passing clouds upon the sand. CHAP. IV.

Upon the south-east side is the gigantic statue of the *Sphinx*, the most colossal piece of sculpture which remains of all the works executed by the Antients. The *French* have uncovered all the pedestal of this statue, and all the cumbent or leonine parts of the figure: these were before entirely concealed by sand. Instead, however, of answering the expectations raised concerning the work upon which it was supposed to rest, the pedestal proves to be a wretched substructure of brick-work, and small pieces of stone, put together like the most insignificant piece of modern masonry, and wholly out of character, both with respect to the prodigious labour bestowed upon the statue itself, and the gigantic appearance of the surrounding objects. Beyond the *Sphinx* we distinctly discerned, amidst the sandy waste, the remains and vestiges of a magnificent building; perhaps the SERAPÉUM. A sort of chequered work appeared in the middle of many of the stones belonging to this ruined edifice. It is unnoticed by every author who has written upon the *Pyramids*. Indeed, the observation of *Geoffroy*, as given in a *Rapport*

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made to the Institute of *Egypt*, during the residence of the *French* at *Caïro*[1], is very just; that all preceding travellers have attended only to the principal objects, in their visits to the *Pyramids*. They have disregarded a number of other remains, less entire, and more diminutive, but calculated to throw considerable light upon the history of those antiquities which here occupy such a surprising extent. *Strabo*, whose observations were certainly made upon the spot, as will hereafter be proved, has given, in his account of *Memphis*, a description of the situation of the SERAPÉUM, pointedly applicable to this position of it; indeed it seems almost identified by his remark. He says it stood in a place so sandy, that hills of sand were heaped there by the winds; and mentions the remains of *Sphinxes*, as marking the place where it stood[2]. A writer of somewhat later date, the author of the *Sibylline Verses*, which are believed

(1) " Rapport à l'Institut sur les recherches à faire dans l'emplacement de l'ancienne Memphis, et dans toute l'etendue des ses sépultures." *Voy. Courier de l'Egypte, No.* 104. *p.* 3. *Au Kaire, de l'Imprimerie Nationale.*

(2) *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σεράπειον ἐν ἀμμώδει τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὅσθ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων βίνας ἄμμων συρεύεσθαι, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ σφίγγες κ.τ.λ.* " Est etiam Serapium, in loco valde arenoso, adeo ut arenæ colles a ventis exaggerentur: ibi vidimus Sphinges," &c. *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1145. *Ed. Oxon.*

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to be a composition of the second century, may rather allude to the *Serapéum* at *Memphis*, than to the temple at *Alexandria*, by the situation he assigns to *Serapis*[3].

Immediately beneath our view, upon the eastern and western side, we saw so many tombs, that we were unable to count them; some being half buried in the sand, others rising considerably above it. All these are of an oblong form, with sides sloping, like the roofs of *European* houses. A plan of their situation and appearance is given in *Pococke's* Travels[4]. The second pyramid, standing to the south-west, has the remains of a covering near its vertex, as of a plating of stone which had once invested all its four sides. Some persons, deceived by the external hue of this covering, have believed it to be of marble; but its white appearance is owing to a partial decomposition, affecting the surface only. Not a single fragment of marble[5] can be found anywhere near

(3) Καὶ σὺ Σέραπι, λίθοις ἐνιπάμενε. "Tuque Serapi sedens in saxis." *Sibyllina Oracula, lib.* v. *ad fin.*

(4) Description of the East, vol. I. Plate xvi. p. 41. *Lond.* 1743.

(5) Marble was not used for buildings in very antient times. "It does not appear," says *Shaw*, "that marble was used by the *Grecian* artists, either in sculpture or building, before the 15th *Olympiad*,

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this pyramid. It is surrounded by a paved court, having walls on the outside, and places as for doors, or portals, in the walls; also an advanced work, or portico. A third pyramid, of much smaller dimensions than the second, appears beyond the *Sphinx*, to the south-west; and there are three others, one of which is nearly buried in sand, between the large pyramid and this statue, to the south-east[1].

Having thus surveyed the principal objects, as they appeared from the summit of the greater pyramid, we proceeded to the examination of the substances which composed its exterior surface.

Limestone used in constructing the greater Pyramid.

The stones of the platform upon the top, as well as most of the others used in constructing the decreasing ranges from the base upwards,

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B.C. 720. *Dædalus's* statues of *Hercules* and *Venus* were of wood; of which, or of rough stone, were likewise their idols and temples, till that time. The antient Temple of *Delphi* was built about the 65th *Olympiad*, B.C. 520, or 513 years after the Temple of *Solomon*." *See Shaw's Trav. p.* 368. *Note* 5. *Lond.* 1757.

(1) In mentioning these particulars, the author may possibly repeat what other travellers have said before, without being conscious of so doing: indeed, it is hardly possible to avoid repetition, upon a subject which has been discussed by thousands, although the utmost vigilance be used.

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are of soft limestone; a little harder, and more compact, than what some of our *English* masons vulgarly call *clunch*; whereof King's College Chapel at *Cambridge*, and great part of *Ely* Cathedral, is built. It is of a greyish white colour; and has this remarkable property, that, when broken by a smart blow with a hammer, it exhales the fetid odour common to the dark limestone of the *Dead Sea*, and of many other places; owing to the disengagement of a gaseous sulphureted hydrogen. This character is very uncommon in white limestone, although it may be frequently observed in the darker varieties. It is now very generally admitted, that the stones, of which the Pyramids consist, are of the same nature as the calcareous rock whereon they stand, and that this was cut away in order to form them: *Herodotus* says they were brought from the *Arabian* side of the *Nile*[2]. Another more compact variety of limestone is found in detached masses at the base of these structures, exactly as it is described by *Strabo*; seeming to consist entirely of mineralized *exuviæ*, derived from some animal now unknown. We did not observe this variety among the constituents of the Pyramids themselves, but in loose fragments

(2) *Euterpe*, c. 8.

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upon the sand[1]. The forms of the petrifaction are lenticular. We noticed an extraneous fossil of the same nature in the *Crimea*, which has also been described by *Pallas*[2]. *Strabo*'s description of this substance corresponds, in so striking a manner, with its present appearance, that his account of it may be noticed as affording internal evidence of his visit to the spot.

Extraneous Fossil described by *Strabo*.

"Among the wonders," says he[3], "which we saw at the Pyramids, there is one which ought on no account to pass without notice. There are heaps of stones, lying among the ruins before the Pyramids, in which are found little petrifactions, in form and size exactly resembling the natural appearance of lentils. The tradition is, that these lentils are the petrified remains of the food given to the workmen." Notwithstanding the throng of travellers, particularly of late years, who have resorted to the Pyramids,

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(1) The author has since been informed that it has been observed among the stones of which the principal pyramid is built.

(2) It has received the appellation of *Lapis Nummularius*, from the resemblance of these lenticular forms to small coins. *See Vol.* II. *Chap.* V. *p.* 228. *Octavo Edition.*

(3) Ἓν δέ τι τῶν ὁραθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς Πυραμίσι παραδόξων οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς λατύπης σωροί τινες πρὸ τῶν Πυραμίδων κεῖνται· ἐν τούτοις δ' εὑρίσκεται ψήγματα καὶ τύπῳ καὶ μεγέθει φακοειδῆ· ἐνίοις δὲ, καὶ ὡς ἂν πτίσμα οἷον ἡμιλεπίστων ὑποτρέχει. Φασὶ δ' ἀπολιθωθῆναι λείψανα τῆς τῶν ἐργαζομένων τροφῆς. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1146. *Ed. Oxon.*

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almost all of whom have borne away some memorial of their visit to the place, not a single specimen of this very curious variety of limestone has yet been observed in any collection of minerals, public or private[4]. *Shaw* mentions the mortar used in the construction of the Pyramids[5]; although a very erroneous notion be still prevalent, that the most antient buildings were erected without the use of cement. A reference to this kind of test has been frequently made, with a view to ascertain the age of antient architecture. All that can be asserted, however, upon this subject, with any degree of certainty, is, that if the most antient architecture of *Greece* sometimes exhibit examples of masonry without mortar, that of *Egypt* is very differently characterized. As we descended from the summit, we found mortar in all the seams of the different layers upon the outside of the pyramid; but no such appearance could be discerned in the more perfect masonry of the interior. Of this mortar we detached and brought away several specimens.

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(4) *Greaves* was almost disposed to doubt the truth of *Strabo's* description, because he did not observe these petrifactions. "Were not *Strabo* a writer of much gravity, I should suspect these petrified graines." *Pyramidog. p.* 119. *Lond.* 1646.

(5) Travels in the *Levant*, p. 368. *Lond.* 1757.

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It is of a coarse kind; and contains minute fragments of *terra cotta*. *Grobert* says it does not differ from the mortar now in use[1]. *Shaw* believed it to consist of sand, wood ashes, and lime[2].

Labours of the *French* Army.

The *French* had been very assiduous in their researches among these buildings. They even attempted to open the smallest of the three principal Pyramids; and having effected a very considerable chasm in one of its sides, have left this mark behind them, as an everlasting testimony of their curiosity and zeal. The landing of our army in *Egypt* put a stop to their labour. Had it not been for this circumstance, the interior of that mysterious monument would probably be now submitted to the inquiry which has long been an object among literary men.

We were employed for a considerable time in a very useless manner, by endeavouring to measure the height of the greater pyramid. This we endeavoured to effect, by extending a small cord from the summit to the base, along the angles formed by the inclination of its

(1) See *Denon's* Voyage, as published by *Peltier*, tom. II. p. 80. *Append. Lond.* 1802.

(2) See *Shaw's* Travels, p. 368. also p. 206. *Lond.* 1757.

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planes; and then measuring the base as accurately as possible, together with the angle of inclination subtended by the sides of the pyramid. The result, however, as it disagreed with any account hitherto published, did not satisfy us[3]. It is a curious circumstance, that all accounts of its perpendicular height differ from each other. Some *French* engineers measured successively all the different ranges of stone, from the base to the summit. According to their observations, the height of this pyramid equals four hundred and forty-eight *French* feet[4].

We now proposed to enter this pyramid: and as an inquiry into the origin and antiquity of these buildings will be reserved for a subsequent consideration, (after a careful examination

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(3) "Although these immense masses had been within our view for the preceding three days, and we gradually approached them in the boat, on our arrival we were more astonished than ever: the prodigious stones which are piled one upon another in regular courses, and joined together with cement, are continued to such an exceeding height, that some persons on the top of the great pyramid appeared to us immediately under it, as if they were birds." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

(4) *Déscript. des Pyram. de Ghizé, par J. Grobert.* See *Peltier's* Edit. of *Voyage en Egypte par Denon, Append. tom.* II. *p.* 62. *Lond.* 1802.

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of the Pyramids of *Saccára*, as well as of those of *Djiza*,) a few brief remarks, containing little else than a mere description of objects, as they appeared to us, are all that will be added to this Chapter.

As we ascended the sandy slope that extends from the mouth of the pyramid, on each side, towards the angles at the base, we observed that the *Arabs* had considerably increased in number since our arrival, and were very clamorous. One of them, while we were measuring the pyramid, had stolen the boat-compass given to us by Captain *Clarke;* an irretrievable loss in such a situation. We offered ten times its value to the *Sheik* who accompanied us, but the thief had disappeared; besides, it was impossible to make an *Arab* sensible of the sort of instrument for whose recovery the reward was proposed. The *Bedouin*, who had stolen it, no doubt considered it to be a box of magic or of divination, whereby infidels were guided to the knowledge of hidden treasure; in search of which they always believed us to be engaged. They had the same opinion of the thermometer which they saw us carry to the summit. In many parts of *Turkey*, this last was believed to be an

Theft committed by an *Arab*.

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instrument for ascertaining distances during a journey. CHAP. IV.

Visit to the Interior of the larger Pyramid.

Having collected our party upon a sort of platform before the entrance of the passage leading to the interior, and lighted a number of tapers, we all descended into its dark mouth. In viewing this entrance, the impression made upon every one of us was, that no persons could thus have laid open the part of the pyramid where this channel was concealed, unless they had been previously acquainted with its situation; and for obvious reasons: First, because its position is almost in the centre of one of its planes, instead of being at the base. Secondly, that no trace appears of those dilapidations which must have been the result of any search for a passage to the interior; such, for example, as now remain for a memorial of the labours of the *French* near the smaller pyramid, which they attempted to open. The opening has been effected in the only point, over all the vast surface of the great pyramid, where, from the appearance of the stones inclined to each other above the mouth of the passage, any admission to the interior was originally intended. So marvellously concealed as this entrance must have been, shall we credit the legendary story

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of an *Arabian* writer, who, discoursing of the Wonders of *Egypt*[1], attributed the opening of this pyramid to *Almamon*, a Caliph of *Babylon*, about nine hundred and fifty years since? A single observation of *Strabo* overturns its credit in an instant; as the same passage was evidently known to him, above eight centuries before the existence of the said Caliph. He describes not only the exact position of the mouth of the pyramid, but even the nature of the duct leading to the Θήκη, or *Soros*, in such a manner, that it is impossible to obtain, in fewer words, a more accurate description[2]. It seems also true, that this opening had been made before the time of *Herodotus*, although his testimony be less decisive. He speaks only of

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(1) *G. Almoc. Hist. Arab.* ex edit. *Erp.* See *Greaves*'s Pyramidographia, pag. 44. *Lond.* 1646. *Maillet* had a similar notion: "Ce fut donc sans doute sous les Princes Mahométans, et par le Calife Mahmout, qui regnoit à Bagdad, et qui mourut l'an de l'Egyre 205, ainsi que le rapportent les auteurs Arabes, que cette impieté fut commise." *Déscription de l'Egypte, tom.* I. *p.* 319. 1740.

(2) Ἔχει δ' ἐν ὕψει μέσως πως τῶν πλευρῶν λίθον ἐξαιρέσιμον· ἀφέντες δὲ σύριγξ ἐστὶ σκολιὰ μέχρι τῆς θήκης. "In media fere laterum altitudine, lapis exemtilis est: eoque sublato obliqua fistula usque ad loculum." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1145. *Ed. Oxon.*

The *Oxford* Editor of *Strabo*, in commenting upon the words σύριγξ ἐστὶ σκολιὰ μέχρι τῆς θήκης, justly observes (*Vid. Not.* 27. *ibid.*) the coincidence between *Strabo*'s description of the entrance, and that given by *Greaves* and *Le Bruyn*.

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subterraneous chambers[3]; but it were impossible to know any thing of their existence, unless the pyramid had first been entered. Hence it is evident, that a passage to the interior had been obtained from the earliest age in which any account was given of this pyramid; and perhaps it never was so completely closed, but that with a little difficulty an access might be effected. Proceeding down this channel (which may be compared to a chimney about a yard wide, inclined, as *Greaves* affirms[4], by an angle of twenty-six degrees to the platform at the entrance,) we presently arrived at a very large mass of granite: this appears to have been placed on purpose to choke up the passage; but a way has been made round it, by which we were enabled to ascend into a second channel, sloping, in a contrary direction, towards the mouth of the first. This is what *Greaves* calls the *first gallery*[5]; and his description is so exceedingly minute, both as to the admeasurements and other circumstances belonging to these passages, that it were a useless

(3) *Herodot. Euterpe, c.* 125.

(4) Pyramidographia, p. 85. *Lond.* 1646.

(5) Ibid. p. 86.

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waste of the reader's time to repeat them here. Having ascended along this channel, to the distance of one hundred and ten feet, we came to a horizontal duct, leading to a chamber with an angular roof, in the interior of the pyramid. In this passage we found, upon our right hand, the mysterious well, which has been so often mentioned. *Pliny* makes the depth of it equal to one hundred and twenty-nine feet; but *Greaves*, in sounding it with a line, found the plummet rest at the depth of twenty feet. We were able to ascertain the cause of failure in *Greaves*'s observation, and in those of almost all others who have attempted to measure the depth of this well. The mouth of it is barely large enough to admit any one into it; but, as it is possible to descend, it is to be regretted that the *French*, during all their researches here, did not adopt some plan for the effectual examination of a place likely to throw considerable light upon the nature of the pyramid, and the foundation upon which it stands. This would require more time than travellers usually can spare, and more apparatus than they can carry with them. In the first place, it would be necessary to fasten lighted tapers at the end of a long cord, to precede the person descending, as a

Observation at the Well.

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precaution whereby the quality of the air below may be proved, and those fatal effects prevented which often attend an improvident descent into wells, and subterraneous chambers of every description. Many hands, too, would be required above, to manage and sustain the ropes by which any adventurer, during the experiment, must remain suspended. The greatest danger to be apprehended would consist in the hazard of an exposure to mephitic air; but due precaution, in a careful attention to the tapers lowered first, might obviate this. We threw down some stones, and observed that they rested at about the depth which *Greaves* has mentioned; but being at length provided with a stone nearly as large as the mouth of the well, and about fifty pounds in weight, we threw this down, and observed that, after striking upon the spot where the other stones rested, after a length of time which must have equalled some seconds, it produced a loud and distinct report, seeming to come from a spacious subterraneous apartment; and it was accompanied by a splashing noise, as if the stone had been broken into pieces, and had fallen into a reservoir of water at a very considerable depth. Thus does experience always tend to confirm the accounts left us by

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the Antients; for this exactly answers to the description given by *Pliny* of this well[1]; and, in all probability, the depth of it does not much differ from that which he mentions, of eighty-six cubits, or one hundred and twenty-nine feet, making the cubit equal to eighteen inches. *Pliny* says that the water of the *Nile* was believed to communicate with this well. The inundation of the river was now nearly at its height. May it be supposed, that, by some hitherto unobserved and secret channels, it is thus conveyed to the bottom of this well? It seems more probable, that the water is nothing more than the usual result of an excavation in a stratum of limestone, carried on to the depth at which water naturally lies in other wells of the same country; as, for example, in the pit called *Joseph's Well,* in the Citadel of *Grand Caïro.* The hill whereon this pyramid stands, is elevated about a hundred feet above the level of the plain country through which the *Nile* flows; and, allowing for the height of the mouth of the well above the base of the *pyramid,* we shall

(1) "In Pyramide maximâ est intus puteus octoginta sex cubitorum, flumen illo admissum arbitrantur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 12. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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have nearly the distance required for a shaft sunk below the bed of the river.

Examination of some inferior Channels.

Some of the officers belonging to our party, while we were occupied in examining the well, had discovered two or three low ducts, or channels, bearing off from this passage to the east and west, (like those intersecting veins called by miners *cross-courses*,) and which they believed to have been overlooked by former travellers. Certainly there is no accurate notice of them in the descriptions given by *Sandys*, *Greaves*, *Vansleb*, *Pococke*, *Shaw*, *Niebuhr*, *Maillet*, *Lucas*, *Norden*, *Savary*, or any other author that we have consulted. Perhaps the *French* engineers employed under *Menou* in the examination of the *Pyramids*, by removing the stones which had closed the mouths of these channels, have laid them open. We undertook a most laborious and difficult task, in penetrating to the extremities of these ducts. The entrance being too low to admit a person upon his hands and knees, it was necessary to force a passage by lying flat upon our faces, gradually insinuating our bodies, by efforts with our arms and feet against the sides. The difficulty, too, was increased by the necessity of bearing lighted

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tapers in our hands, which were liable to be extinguished at every instant, in the efforts made to advance. As we continued to struggle in this manner, one after another, fearful of being at last jammed between the stones, or suffocated by heat and want of air, a number of bats, alarmed by our intrusion, endeavoured to make their escape. This we would gladly have permitted, but it was not easily effected. Flying against our hands and faces, they presently extinguished some of our tapers, and were with difficulty suffered to pass by us. After all our trouble, we observed little worth notice at the end of any of these cavities. In one, which the author examined, he found, at the extremity of the channel, a small square apartment, barely large enough to allow of his sitting upright; the floor of which was covered with loose stones, promiscuously heaped, as by persons who had succeeded in clearing the passage leading thither. All these trifling channels and chambers are perhaps nothing more than so many vacant spaces, necessary in carrying on the work during the construction of this vast pile, which the workmen neglected to fill as the building proceeded; like the cavities behind the *metopes* in the *Parthenon* at *Athens*, which, although usually

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filled in *Grecian* temples, were, as we find in certain instances, left void. CHAP. IV.

Chamber of the *Sepulchre.*

After once more regaining the passage whence these ducts diverge, we examined a chamber at the end of it, mentioned by all who have described the interior of this building. Its roof is angular; that is to say, it is formed by the inclination of large masses of stone leaning toward each other, like the appearance presented by those masses which are above the entrance to the *pyramid.* Then quitting the passage altogether, we climbed the slippery and difficult ascent which leads to what is called the principal chamber. The workmanship, from its perfection, and its immense proportions, is truly astonishing. All around the spectator, as he proceeds, is full of majesty, of mystery, and of wonder. The materials of this gallery are said by *Greaves* to consist of white and polished *marble*[1]. This we did not observe. *Pococke* also mentions *pilastres* in an anticloset before the principal chamber[2]; circumstances which are inconsistent with received opinions respecting

(1) Pyramidographia, p. 90. *Lond.* 1646.

(2) Description of the East, vol. I. p. 45. *Lond.* 1743.

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CHAP. IV.

antient architecture. The *pilaster* is believed to be of modern date; and *marble*, according to some writers, was not used by architects before the fifteenth Olympiad[1]. Presently we entered that "glorious roome," as it is justly called by *Greaves*[2], where, "as within some consecrated oratory, Art may seem to have contended with Nature." It stands "in the very heart and centre of the *pyramid*, equidistant from all its sides, and almost in the midst between the basis and the top. The floor, the sides, the roof of it, are all made of vast and exquisite tables of *Thebaick marble*." By *Greaves's Thebaick marble* is to be understood that most beautiful variety of *granite* called, by *Italian* lapidaries, *Granito rosso*[3], which is composed essentially of *feldspar*, of *quartz*, and of *mica*. It is often called *Oriental granite*, and sometimes *Egyptian granite*, but it differs in no respect from *European*

(1) Before Christ, 720. See a former Note in this Chapter. It should be said, however, that *Shaw*, who makes this remark, (*Trav.* p. 368, *Note* 5. *Lond.* 1757,) applies it to the *Grecian*, and not to *Egyptian* artists. There are *Doric pilasters*, of the age of *Augustus*, in the remains of *Mæcenas's* Villa, near *Rome*; and the immense capitals discovered among the ruins of a temple at *Girgenti* evidently belonged to *pilasters* of much earlier date.

(2) Pyramidographia, p. 95.

(3) See *Forbes's* Travels, p. 226. *Lond.* 1776.

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granite, except that the red *feldspar* enters more largely as a constituent into the mass than is usual in the *granite* of *Europe*[4]. So exquisitely are the masses of this *granite* fitted to each other upon the sides of this chamber, that, being without cement, it is really impossible to force the blade of a knife between the joints. This has been often related before; but we actually tried the experiment, and found it to be true[5]. There are only six ranges of stone from the floor to the roof, which is twenty feet high; and the length of the chamber is about twelve yards. It is also about six yards wide. The roof or ceiling consists only of nine pieces, of stupendous size and length, traversing the room from side to side, and lying, like enormous beams, across the top.

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(4) The author has seen *granite* of the same kind, and of equal beauty, in fragments, upon the shores of the *Hebrides*, particularly at *Icolmkill*.

(5) *Diodorus* particularly alludes to te same thing. "But this work," says he, "is not only worthy of praise on account of its magnitude, but wonderful for the skill displayed, and remarkable for the nature of the stone; since that in so much vastness there was not a fissure nor a blemish visible." Τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο μὴ μόνον εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θαυμαστὸν, καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου φύσει διάφορον, ὡς ἂν ἐν τηλικούτῳ μεγέθει μήτε διαφυάδος μήτε κηλίδος μηδεμιᾶς θεωρουμένης. *Diod. Sic. lib.* i. *c.* 47. *p.* 57. *ed. Wesselingii. Amst.* 1746.

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The *Soros.*

Near the western side, stands the *Soros*, of the same kind of *granite* as that which is used for the walls of the chamber, and as exquisitely polished. It is distinguished by no difference of form or dimensions from the common appearance of the *Soros*, as it is often seen in *Turkish* towns, when employed by the inhabitants to supply the place of a cistern. It resembles, as *Greaves* has remarked[1], "two cubes, finely set together, and hollowed within; being cut smooth and plain," without sculpture or engraving of any kind. Its length on the outside is seven feet three inches and a half; its depth, three feet three inches and three quarters; and it is the same in breadth. Its position is north and south.

This beautiful relic was entire when our troops were landed in *Egypt*. Even the *French* had refused to violate a monument considered by travellers of every age and nation as consecrated by its antiquity; having withstood the ravages of time above three thousand years, and all the chances of sacrilege to which it was exposed during that period from wanton indiscriminating barbarity. It is therefore painful

(1) See Pyramidog. p. 96.

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Demolition of the *Soros* attempted.

to relate, that it is now no longer entire. The soldiers and sailors of our army and navy having had frequent access to the interior of the *pyramid*, carried with them sledge-hammers, to break off pieces, as curiosities to be conveyed to *England*; and began, alas! the havoc of its demolition[9]. Had it not been for the classical taste, and the laudable interference, of Colonel now General *Stewart*, then commanding-officer in that district, who threatened to make an example of any individual, whether officer or private, who should disgrace his country by thus waging hostility against History and the Arts, not a particle of the *Soros* would have remained. Yet, as a proof of the difficulty which attended this worse than *Scythian* ravage, the persons who thus left behind them a sad memorial of the *British* name, had only succeeded in accomplishing a fracture near one of the angles. It was thus disfigured when we arrived; and every traveller of taste will join in reprobating any future attempt to increase the injury it has so lamentably sustained.

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(9) During the same week in which this Chapter was printing, little pieces of granite were shewn to the author, as "*bits of King Pharaoh' Tomb*," which were taken from this *sepulchre*.

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Having quitted this *Pyramid*, we amused ourselves by a cursory survey of the rest; concerning which we have nothing to communicate that would not be a mere repetition of what has been already related by many other writers. We then descended into some of the smaller sepulchres. The walls within these were adorned with *hieroglyphics*. In some instances, we noticed the traces of antient painting, an art that seems to have been almost co-eval with the human race. The most remarkable instance of this kind was discovered by the author in a situation where, of all others, it was least to be expected,—upon the surface of the *Sphinx*. As we drew near to view this prodigious colossus, a reddish hue was discernible over the whole mass, quite inconsistent with the common colour of the limestone used in building the *Pyramids*, and of which the *Sphinx* itself is formed. This induced us to examine more attentively the superficies of the statue: and having succeeded in climbing beneath the right ear of the figure, where the surface had never been broken, nor in any degree decomposed by the action of the atmosphere, we found, to our very great surprise, that the whole had once been painted of a dingy red or blood colour, like some of the

The Sphinx.

Its surface found to be painted.

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stuccoed walls of the houses in *Pompeii* and *Herculaneum*[1]. Upon this painted surface there CHAP. IV.

(1) See RODE and RIEM "*On the Painting of the Antients*," p. 53. *Berlin*, 1787. "It is really astonishing that a people, which, if we except the obstacles arising from climate and the despotism of its priests and its rulers, possessed such abundant means of elevating the Arts to the highest degree of perfection, did so little understand how to use these means. In these glowing colours, of which the original quality remains unaltered and entire, after thousands of years, in these so well-preserved colours of the royal tombs of BIBAN EL MOLUCH, of the ceiling at TENTYRA and SYENE, and in the colours of the fallen Sphinx near the antient HELIOPOLIS, are discovered resources of which few nations have been able to boast, and which Count *Caylus* supposes to consist in certain sharp and corroding materials, which united the colours so firmly with the body, that centuries would produce no alteration in their substance[a]. This supposition is perhaps erroneous. Corroding materials do not always preserve the colours, but destroy certain kinds, or at least change them, in such a manner, that they are far from remaining what they were. I will venture a supposition, which, however, I mean to try previously, by an experiment which, for that purpose, I propose to make. I think, namely, I may conjecture, not without reason, that the *Egyptians* did not put on the colour in the manner in which it is done now; because the use of the pencil was entirely unknown to them. Nothing was left them, in this respect, but to unite a plastic viscid mass so thoroughly with the simple colours, that the whole mass which they put on contained those colours. It is precisely the same, whether this consisted of a kind of wax, of cement-earth hard as stone, or of something similar. This they could easily put on, by means of their instruments; and indeed the easier, as they knew of no mixing and of no shading of colours, but painted all in uniform colours, red, yellow, or otherwise. The plastic mass, or cement-earth, hardened either by encaustic treatment, which was not unknown to them, or by itself. This must very naturally preserve the colours in equal strength, as they were bound together and rendered permanent by the mass itself, and quite incorporated into it, which is particularly true of stone- and earth-colours. Toward

[a] *Caylus*, in the above-quoted passage, Vol. I. p. 354.

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Discovery of an antient *Inscription.*

was also an *Inscription;* but so concealed, by its situation beneath the enormous ear of the *Sphinx,* and so out of the reach of observers viewing the statue from below, that no notice has yet been taken of it by any preceding traveller. As to the age of this *inscription,* the reader must determine for himself. At the same time, it may be proper to add, that it bears the characteristic of a high antiquity in the manner of applying the writing. There is a passage in the Book of *Deuteronomy* which proves that the custom of writing upon plaister existed in the fifteenth century before the *Christian* æra. The *Israelites* are thus instructed to write the Law; and it is very probable that *Moses* had learned the art from the *Egyptians.* "THOU SHALT SET THEE UP GREAT STONES, AND PLAISTER THEM WITH PLAISTER: AND THOU SHALT WRITE UPON THEM ALL THE WORDS OF THE LAW[1]." The two first lines are *Coptic;* the rest is *Arabic.* The characters were of considerable size, and

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Toward the end of this work, I shall make my readers acquainted with such a kind of cement-earth, and describe its whole composition, which, in hardness, is not inferior to any sandstone, emits sparks when struck, and to which, with soft and plastic treatment, one may give not only the complete appearance of a work composed of raw sandstone, but also all the colours, and all the firmness, hardness, and durability of stone."

(1) *Deut.* xxvii, 2, 3.

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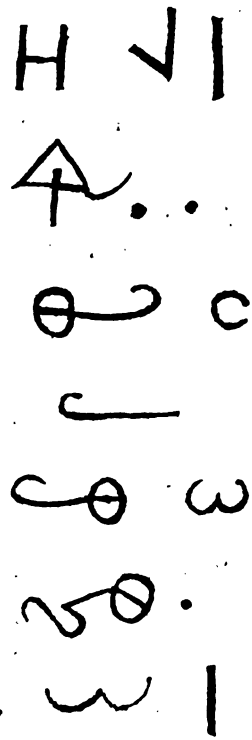
they were inscribed in black paint upon the red surface of the statue. The author bestowed all possible care and attention in making the following copy of them, as a *fac-simile*.



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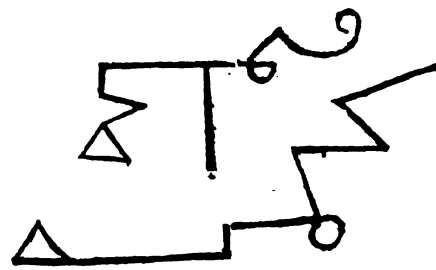
Above these, and closer under the ear, were written, very conspicuously, these curious *monograms*,



probably also *Arabic*, but in their appearance somewhat resembling the kind of writing preserved among the *Inscriptiones Sinaïcæ*, as published by *Kircher* and by *Pococke*[1]. According to *Pococke*, this was not engraven, but *painted*, or *stained*, upon the rock where he saw it.

Custom of painting Antient Statues.

Whatsoever may be the age of these characters, the specimen of painting exhibited by the superficies of the stone is of still higher antiquity; not merely because the inscription appears *upon* the painted surface, but from the

(1) *See Plate* LV. *Inscript.* 86. *Descr. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 149. *Lond.* 1743. "The *Greeks*," says *Pococke*, "call this inscription Θεῖῳ χάραγμα γράμματα, "*The words of God engraved.*" The same inscription may also be found in KIRCHER's *Prodromus Copticus.*

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resemblance which the style of colouring bears to other examples which may be mentioned. The statues of the *Parthenon* at *Athens* were originally painted and gilded[2]; and however contrary the practice may seem to our notions of taste, a custom of *painting* statues, and of *gilding* the hair of images representing celestial beings, has continued, without intermission, from the age of *Pericles* and the *golden-haired* Apollos of *Greece*, down to the æra of those *Italian* artists who filled our old *English* churches with alabaster monuments, where, besides the *painted* effigies of our ancestors[3], may be seen the figures of angels with *gilded* wings and *gilded* hair. But these are subjects which, to a writer

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(2) "Avant que ce marbre précieux eût *été* nettoyé, il conservoit des traces, non-seulement de la couleur encaustique dont, suivant l'usage des Grecs, on enduisoit la sculpture, mais encore d'une véritable peinture dont quelques parties étoient couvertes; usage qui tient aux procédés de l'enfance de l'art, dont il ne s'etoit pas encore débarrassé. Le fond étoit bleu; *les cheveux* et quelques parties du corps ETOIENT DORÉS." *Voy. Monumens Antiques inédits. Description d'un Bas-Relief du Parthenon, par A. L. Millin.* Traces of *gilding* are still to be perceived on the *hair* of the VENUS *de Medicis*.

(3) A splendid monument of this kind, erected over the bodies of *Lord* SURREY the *Poet* and his family, may be seen in *Framlingham* Church, *Suffolk*. *Shakspeare* has finely availed himself of this practice, in the image of *Hermione (Winter's Tale)*:

"PAUL. ——— O patience!
The statue is but newly fixt, the colour's
Not dry. ———"

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CHAP. IV.

fond of pursuing the mazes of antient history, offer such alluring deviations from the main route, as might lead both him and his reader into almost endless digression: the vestiges of antient art, and the remains of antient customs, visible in our daily walks and in every haunt of society, so frequently suggest themselves to philosophical reflection, that, if due attention were paid to them, whole volumes would be inadequate to the dissertations that might be written. A few observations only, selected from the pages of an author who has expressed a similar observation; and who, most learnedly illustrating the arts of *painting* and *writing* among the antient *Egyptians*[1], has concentrated within a small compass whatever might have been added upon these topics; may terminate this chapter.

Extract from Pauw.

"The number of things to be spoken of here will not permit us to treat of each in particular; for it is necessary sometimes to neglect details, and confine ourselves to essentials only, that a chapter may contain what might otherwise require a whole book. The loss of the greater

(1) Philosophical Dissertation on the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*, by *De Pauw*, vol. I. pp. 187, 188, 189, 190, 202, 203. *Lond.* 1795.

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part of the history of the Arts in *Egypt* is a circumstance truly lamentable. All the wrecks now remaining form only a mutilated body. CHAP. IV.

* * *

"*Pliny* has fallen into an unpardonable contradiction, when he maintains that the art of *writing* had been known from all eternity[2], and denies, at the same time, that the *Egyptians* practised *painting* during six thousand years. *Plato* finds no difficulty in believing it to have been known to them for ten thousand years[3]. When *Plato*, in his Dialogues, makes an anonymous interlocutor assert that ten thousand years had elapsed since *some pictures then seen in Egypt were painted*, we should observe, that colours, applied in all their natural purity on the partitions of the *Theban* grottoes, might really be capable of supporting so long a period. The fewer mixtures are admitted in colours termed *native*, and appertaining neither to the vegetable nor animal kingdom, the less they are subject

(2) *De Pauw* is evidently here aiming at the introduction of his own sceptical notions with respect to chronology. We are to understand *Pliny's* use of the word *eternity* only as referring to a period antecedent to existing records, or those of the *αἰτιόχλους*: an observation necessary to rescue many of the antient philosophers from the absurd notions imputed to them.

(3) *De Legibus*, Dial. 2.

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to change, where the rays of the sun do not penetrate. This was the case in the excavations we have cited, where many tints could be distinguished, of a beautiful red, and of a particular blue. Colours have remained until our day in some royal sepulchres of *Biban-el-Moluk*, which, in my opinion, have been constructed before the *Pyramids*. The walls of great edifices, when once coloured, remained so for many centuries; or rather, for ever. The *Egyptians* do not seem to have used any particular procedure for making the colours and gilding adhere to the wall or the bare rock, as some people have supposed. Count *Caylus* says, that the manner of laying them on, practised by the *Egyptians*, was not favourable[1]. Like all the *Eastern* artists, they employed only virgin tints, and coloured rather than painted."

(1) *Antiq. Egypt. Etrusc. &c. vol. I.*

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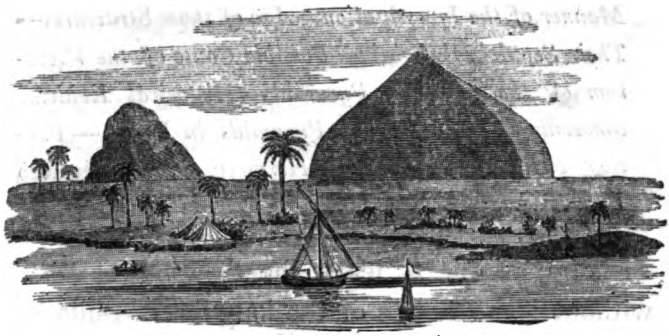

Remarkable Form of one of the Pyramids of Saccára.

CHAP. V.

PYRAMIDS OF SACCARA.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids—Audience of the Vizier—Voyage to Saccára—*Nocturnal Festivities of an* Arab *Village—Appearance of the Country to the South of* Caïro—Indigofera—*Situation of* Memphis—Tumulus *seen among the Pyramids—The most-antient Sepulchres not pyramidal—Village of* Saccára—*Difference between the Pyramids of* Saccára *and those of* Djïza—*Descent into the Catacombs—Notion founded on a passage in* Herodotus—*Evidence for the Horizontal Position of the Bodies—Difficulty of ascertaining the truth—Repository of Embalmed Birds—Cause of their Interment—Hieroglyphic Tablet—Antelope—Antiquities found by the* Arabs—*Horses of the*

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Country—Theft detected—History of the Pyramids—Manner of the Investigation—Age of those Structures—Their Sepulchral Origin—Possible Cause of the Violation of the principal Pyramid—Historical Evidence concerning the building of Pyramids in Egypt *— Further views of the subject—Hermetic Stelæ—*Mexican *Pyramids.*

CHAP. V.

Illustrious Travellers who have visited the Pyramids.

It is impossible to leave the *Pyramids* of *Djizè* without some notice of the long list of Philosophers, Marshals, Emperors, and Princes, who, in so many ages, have been brought to view the most wonderful of the works of man. There has not been a conqueror pre-eminently distinguished in the history of the world, from the days of *Cambyses* down to the invasion of *Napoleon Buonaparte*, who withheld the tribute of his admiration from the Genius of the place. The vanity of *Alexander the Great* was so piqued by the overwhelming impression of their majesty, that nothing less than being ranked among the Gods of *Egypt* could elevate him sufficiently above the pride of the monarchs by whom they were erected. When *Germanicus* had subdued the *Egyptian* empire, and seated "a *Roman* præfect upon the splendid throne of the *Ptolemies*," being unmindful of repose or of triumph, the antiquities of the country engaged

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all his attention[1]. The humblest pilgrim, pacing the *Libyan* sands around them, while he is conscious that he walks in the footsteps of so many mighty and renowned men, imagines himself to be for an instant admitted into their illustrious conclave. *Persian* satraps, *Macedonian* heroes, *Grecian* bards, sages, and historians, *Roman* warriors, all of every age, and nation, and religion, have participated, in common with him, the same feelings, and have trodden the same ground. Every spot that he beholds, every stone on which he rests his weary limbs, have witnessed the coming of men who were the fathers of law, of literature, and of the arts. *Orpheus, Musæus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Plutarch,* contributed by their presence to the dignity of the place. Desolate and melancholy as the scene appears, no traveller leaves it without regret, and many a retrospect of objects which call to his mind such numerous examples of wisdom, of bravery, and of virtue. To this regret, on our part, was added the consciousness that we had now

(1) "Cæterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens: dejectasque inter et vix pervias arenas, instar montium eductæ Pyramides, certamine et opibus regum." *Tacit. Annal. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. *tom.* I. *p.* 308. *Paris*, 1682.

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reached the utmost limit of our travels in this interesting country; for, with the exception of a visit to the Pyramids of *Saccára*, our journey towards the south was here terminated. We had now traversed about forty degrees of latitude, and principally by land; through countries, however, in which little of the refinements of civilized nations had ever been experienced: and we returned from *Dfiza* to *Caïro*, to conclude our observations in *Egypt*, previous to the rest of our travels in *Greece*.

The next day we all dined with Signor *Rosetti*, who sent a messenger to the *Sheik* of the *Bedouin Arabs* at *Saccára*, stating that we were desirous of seeing the *Pyramids* and *Catacombs* of that place, and begging to be informed on what day we might find guides and horses ready for us. On the following evening, *August* the twenty-fifth, his answer arrived. The *Sheik* sent two men of his tribe, one to conduct us, and the other to return with our message, fixing the time for our visit. The *Arab* who was to be our conductor ran away, but we procured another who happened to be then in *Caïro*. In all the great houses of this city, the earthen vessels for containing water are perfumed. This becomes quite a ceremony. They

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first put into the vase some mastic, and a substance called *Makourgourivic*, which is brought from *Upper Egypt*. The name is written as it was pronounced; but perhaps it consists of more than one word. They then clarify the water with almond-paste, cool it by the evaporating jars, and thus it is made fit for drinking.

On the twenty-seventh we purchased every variety of seed which we could obtain from the gardeners of *Cairo*. After this we visited a manufactory of sabres, wishing to learn the art by which the *Mamaluke* blades are ornamented with a sort of clouded work. Sabres thus enamelled are said to be *damascened*, from the city of *Damascus*, where this work is carried on in the greatest perfection. We saw the artificers use a red liquid for this purpose, which appeared to be some powerful acid, from the caution they observed in touching it; but they would not allow us to examine it.

Audience of the Vizier.

We then paid our long-promised visit to the *Vizier*. This venerable man had lived so much with our artillery officers, that he entertained very sincere regard for them. We made our appearance before him in company with Colonel

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Holloway and Major *Hope*. He welcomed these officers as if they had been his brothers. He had lost an eye when he was young, in playing the game of *Djirit*. He regaled us in the usual *Oriental* style; and conversed cheerfully upon the subject of his marches with our countrymen in the *Desert*; also of his own exploits in battle. He was magnificently dressed, in robes of rich silk; and wore, instead of a turban, a high purple cap; such as the *Grand Signior* puts on upon public occasions. The pipe which he used for smoking was valued at seven thousand *piastres*; and his poignard was ornamented with the largest emerald we had ever seen, being equal in size to a walnut. He resided in a new and magnificent palace, the windows of which were ornamented with beautifully stained glass. His couch consisted of ebony, inlaid with mother of pearl; and a magnificent mirror, covered with a gauze net, decorated his apartment. His attendants were more numerous than is usual with other *Pashas*; but, in his manners, there was neither the pride, the stateliness, nor the affected pomp, which we had remarked in the *Viceroys* of *Cyprus*, of *Jerusalem*, and of other places.

In the evening, at six o'clock, we again set

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Voyage to *Saccára*.

out in our *djerm*, upon an excursion to the *Pyramids* of *Saccára*, accompanied by Mr. *Hammer* and Dr. *Whittman*[1]. We arrived, about ten o'clock, in the village of *Sheik Atman*; and were much gratified, upon our landing, by a fine moonlight scene, in which two beautiful *Arab* girls were performing a dance called *Rack*, beneath a grove of palm-trees, to the music of a tambour, and a pipe made of two reeds which the *Arabs* call *Zumana*. A party of *Arabs* was seated in a circle round them, as spectators. The rest of the inhabitants were sleeping, either in the open air beneath the trees, or collected in tents, pell-mell, among asses, mules, and dogs. Some of their children were running up and down the palm-trees, as if these had been so many ladders, to gather bunches of ripe dates for the circle round the dancers. The broad surface of the *Nile* reflected the moon's image, and conduced to the perfection of this most beautiful spectacle. The *Arabs* suffered us to walk among them, without being interrupted in their amusement or their repose. Some of them brought us fruit, and offered other refreshments. The women were all prostitutes, and

Nocturnal Festivities of an *Arab* Village.

(1) This gentleman has since published an Account of his Travels in *Turkey*.

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almost naked: they wore coral necklaces, and large ivory bracelets. An *Arab* joined the dance, which we had never seen any of the men do before: he began by exhibiting a variety of attitudes with his drawn sabre; and then proceeded to express the tenderness of his passion for the female dancer in a very ludicrous manner, squeaking, and howling like some wild animal. One of the *Sheiks* who had received us upon our arrival went to a neighbouring village, to procure some additional horses for the next morning. The music and the dancing continued during the whole of the night. Our boat was anchored opposite to the farthest *pyramid*, towards the south; *Cairo* being still in sight.

Appearance of the Country to the South of *Cairo*.

In the morning of *August* the twenty-eighth, at five o'clock, as the sun was rising in great splendour behind the mountainous ridge of *Mokatam*, we went round the village, which consisted entirely of mud huts. Near to these were several gardens, in which we gathered radishes for our breakfast. We noticed also some dwarf varieties of the *Palm*[1], which we had not before observed, growing in clusters among the taller trees, and bearing abundance of fruit, but

(1) Phœnix dactylifera.

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hanging so low that it might be reached by the hand. One variety was called *Balack Mahaût:* the average height of this did not exceed ten or twelve feet. Another bore the name of *Balack Seawee*, which grew somewhat taller. A female of uncommon beauty made her appearance out of one of the huts, without any veil; and, to add to the rarity of such a sight, her complexion was fair, much more resembling that of a *Circassian* than of an *Egyptian* woman. The quantity of pigeons hovering about these villages is quite astonishing. We also saw flights of larks of a very large size. All the country, as far as the eye extended, was so covered with water, that no particular course of the *Nile* could be perceived: it was more like a sea than a river. The *Pyramids* of *Saccára* appeared in the distant view, beyond a country rich in plantations and full of villages: they are less regular in their structure than those of *Dſiza*. The *Arabian* side of the *Nile* is not so fertile as the *Libyan*. Towards *Mokatam*, the country below the heights seemed to be quite a desert. *Mount Mokatam* is itself variously perforated by cavernous excavations: these were either the habitations or the sepulchres of the earliest settlers upon the eastern side of the *Nile*. At a neighbouring village, called *Etterſile*, two gun-boats, and one

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Indigofera.

smaller vessel, were now building. Near this village grew a great quantity of INDIGOFERA, which the *Arabs* call *Nilé*. Under a similar appellation it was mentioned, at the close of the sixteenth century, as an object of inquiry, by *Richard Hakluyt*[1]; for at that time it was not known in *England* what plant produced the *Indigo*[2]. Instructions were therefore given, "to know if *Anile*, that coloureth blew, be a natural commodity; and, if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the seed or root, with the order of sowing." It is remarkable that *Nil*, or *Anil*, is the *American* name of the *Indigo* plant. The *Portuguese* have adopted their *Anil*, or *Anileira*, from the *American*. In *Chinese* it is called *Tien Laam*, which signifies *sky blue*. The *Arabs*, in *Egypt*, sow the seed of this plant only once in seven years; and they obtain two crops from it in each year. They cut it green, when about two feet in height: (they were cutting some at this time:) it is then put into boiling water, and left in jars for several days: after this it acquires the blue colour. The *French* had taught them to boil the plant, and use the scum for a dye.

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(1) A. D. 1582.

(2) See *Martyn's* edition of *Miller's* Dictionary. Art. *Indigofera*.

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We saw two *Arabs* crossing the *Nile*, where it was at least half a mile wide, by means of empty gourds, which they used instead of bladders, with their clothes fastened upon their heads. It was nine o'clock before we steered our *djerm* into a canal leading towards *Saccára*. We passed the village which *Savary* believed to denote the situation of antient *Memphis*, and concurred with him in his locality of the city[3]. His description of the place, particularly of the *Causeway* and the *Lake*, is very accurate. But the village is not called *Menf*, or *Menph*, as he pretends, but *Menshee a Dashoo*[4]. The *Lake* at this time was, in great measure, become a part of the general inundation. We sailed the whole way to the *Pyramids* of *Saccára*, with the exception of about half a mile, which it was necessary to ride over, to the *Mummy Pits*.

Situation of *Memphis*.

Just beyond *Menshee a Dashoo* we were much struck by the appearance of a *Tumulus*, (standing to the south of a large graduated *pyramid*,) which, instead of being *pyramidal*, exhibits a less artificial and therefore a more antient form of

Tumulus seen among the *Pyramids*.

(3) *Pococke* also places it near the same spot.

(4) This seems to have been POCOCKE's "*El Menshieh Dashour*." See *Descr. of the East*, *vol.* I. *p.* 49.

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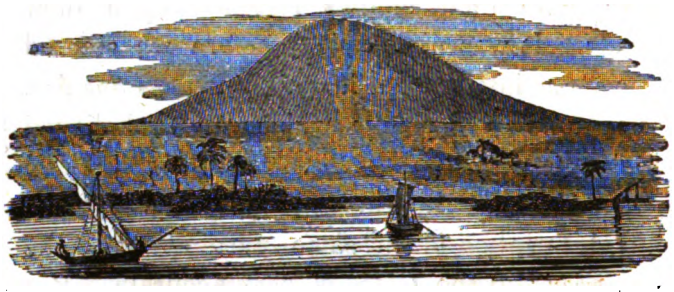
sepulchre than any of the *Pyramids*. It is a simple hemispherical mound. We saw afterwards others of the same kind.



The most antient *Sepulchres* not *pyramidal.*

Comparing these appearances with that regularity of structure which characterizes the *Pyramids* of *Djïza*, and also with another style of architecture observable at *Saccára*, where a transition may be discerned between one and the other, (the curved outline not having wholly disappeared, nor the rectilinear form prevailing altogether,) we may establish a rule for ascertaining different degrees of antiquity throughout the whole series of these monuments. The most antient lie towards the south. Almost all the buildings of *Saccára*, of whatever size or shape, whether hemispheroïdal or pyramidal, seem to be older than those of *Djïza:* and, as we proceed in surveying them from the south towards the north, ending with the principal pyramid of *Djïza*, we pass from the primeval

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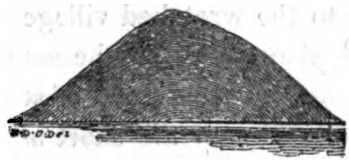
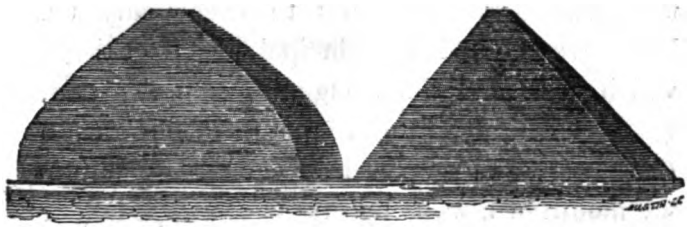
mound, through all its modifications, until we arrive at the most artificial pyramidal heap; something after the manner represented by the following sketch.



Pristeud Mound.



Pyramid of Saccara. *Pyramid of Djiza.*

The same rule will apply to similar monuments in *America*, which have been held sacred among the inhabitants of that great continent from the earliest periods of their history. In fact, the *Scythian Mound*, the *Tartar Tépé*, the *Teutonic Barrow*, and the *Celtic Cairn*, do all of them preserve a monumental form which was more antiently in use than that of a *Pyramid*, because it is less artificial; and a proof of its alleged antiquity may be deduced from the mere circumstance of its association with the *Pyramids*

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of *Egypt*, even if the testimony of *Herodotus* were less explicit as to the remote period of its existence among Northern nations[1].

Village of *Saccára.*

We came to the wretched village of *Saccára*. Near to this place, towards the south, there is an antient causeway, composed of stones twelve yards wide, leading up the short ascent to the plain on which the *Pyramids* stand. Several of the *Arabs* left their huts to accompany us. When we reached the principal cluster of them, which is behind the village towards the west, we were conducted to the mouth of one of the *Catacombs;* and prepared for a descent, as into the mouth of a well, by means of a rope-ladder which we had brought with us for that purpose. The sandy surface of the soil was covered with a quantity of broken vessels of *terra cotta*, pieces of human bones, sculls, bits of antient glass, and heaps of ruins.

These *Pyramids* appear to be a continuation of the same great cœmetery to which those of *Djïza* also belonged. They extend four or five miles, both to the north and to the south of the

(1) See the account given by *Herodotus* of the *Scythian* mode of sepulture. *Melpomene*, c. 71.

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village of *Saccára*. Some of them are rounded at the top, and, as it was observed by *Pococke*[2], "do not look like pyramids, but more like hillocks cased with stone." One of these is graduated, like the principal pyramid of *Djïza*; but with this difference, that the gradations here are much larger, although the *pyramid* be smaller. It consists only of six tiers or ranges of stone; the *pyramid* itself being an hundred and fifty feet in height[3]. The ranges or steps are twenty-five feet high, and eleven feet wide. The rest of these structures are so fully and accurately described by *Pococke*, that little will be added here to his description of them. There is one, built also with steps, which he believed to be as large as the principal *pyramid* of *Djïza*. The works at *Saccára*, independently of the different forms which characterize them, appear to be older than those of *Djïza*; the buildings being more decayed, and the stones crumbling, as if they were decomposed by longer exposure to the action of the atmosphere. Four miles to the south of *Saccára* stands a *pyramid* built of unburned bricks. This is in a very mouldering state. The bricks contain shells, gravel, and

Difference between the *Pyramids of Saccára* and those of *Djïza*.

(2) Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 50.

(3) Ibid.

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chopped straw: they are of the same nature as the unburned bricks in modern use in *Egypt*. *Pococke* concluded, from its present appearance, that this *pyramid* was built with five gradations only[1]: it is of the same height as the other graduated *pyramid* of six degrees.

Descent into the *Catacombs*.

Our rope-ladder was not more than fifteen feet in length, and yet, when placed in the mouth of a *catacomb* near the graduated *pyramid*, we found it reach low enough to enable us to descend into the first row of chambers. We entered a room containing scattered bones, and fragments of broken *mummies*: these, when entire, had evidently been placed *horizontally*, upon a sort of shelf or tier of stone, about breast high, formed in the natural rock, and extended the whole length of this subterraneous apartment. Beyond the first chamber were others on the same level, exhibiting similar remains; and below these was a series, extending, in like manner, beneath the upper range. The smell in these *catacombs* was so exceedingly offensive, that it speedily drove us up again; although we could not explain the cause, for it seemed very improbable that it could originate

(1) Descr. of the East, Vol. I. p. 53.

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in embalmed bodies deposited there so many ages before. We saw enough, however, to be convinced that an erroneous notion has been derived from a passage in *Herodotus*, which has been supposed to relate to the mode of placing *mummies* in these repositories[2]. It was impossible that the dead could have been set *upright* upon their feet, for there was not sufficient space between the roof of the cavern and the place where the bodies were laid. From a former view of the *Soros* in the *Djiza* pyramid, and also from the appearance here, it became evident that the position of the corpses in *Egyptian* sepulchres was not *vertical*, but *horizontal;* and that the passage referred to in *Herodotus* relates to the manner in which the bodies were placed, not in the *catacombs*, but in the *houses* of the relatives of deceased persons, after being embalmed. The testimony now given is, moreover, confirmed by many other writers. *Kircher* has given an engraved representation, made from a view of the *Mummy Crypts*, by *Burattinus;* delineated, as he says, with the utmost

Evidence for the *Horizontal* Position of the Bodies.

(2) Καὶ κατακληΐσαντες οὕτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. "Inclusumque ita, reponunt in conclavi loculis talibus dicato, statuentes rectum ad parietem." *Herodot. Hist. lib.* ii. *c.* 86. *p.* 143. *Ed. Valcken. et Wesseling. Amst.* 1763.

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accuracy[1], in which the bodies are all represented cumbent, with their faces upwards. *Denon*'s description of the *Cryptæ* to the north-east of *Thebes* is of the same nature[2]. "At the bottom of the galleries, the *sarcophagi* stood insulated, of a single block of granite each, of twelve feet in length and eight in width, rounded at one end, squared at the other, like that of *St. Athanasius*, in *Alexandria*." And again, in his long and difficult search to discover "the manner in which a mummy was placed in its sepulchre," having ventured into *cryptæ* where the bodies had never been disturbed, he found[3] them "placed *upon the ground*, and allowed as much space as could contain them in regular order." *Pococke*, describing the *Catacombs* of *Saccára*, speaks of "benches about two feet above the passages," on which "he supposes[4] they laid the mummies;" but, being desirous of adapting even these appearances to a notion of their *upright* posture, he adds[5], "Probably the inferior per-

(1) Vid. *Œdip. Ægypt.* syntagma xiii. c. 4. tom. III. p. 400. *Rom.* 1654.

(2) *Denon.* Trav. in *Egypt*, vol. II. p. 174. *Lond.* 1803.

(3) Ibid. p. 296.

(4) Descr. of the *East*, vol. I. p. 54. *Lond.* 1743.

(5) Ibid.

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sons were piled one upon another, and the *heads of the family* set upright in the niches." The suggestion is borrowed from *Maillet*, who mentions "several niches," wherein the bodies "*des maîtres de la famille*" were placed[6]. All this is very easily said; and it is all without proof. The fact is, that no traveller, as far as we can learn, ever did succeed in observing the position of a mummy within its *crypt*[7]. The *Arabs*, if they can avoid it, will suffer no one to behold what the *French*[8] writers call *a virgin mummy*.

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(6) Décr. de l'*Egypte*, tom. II. p. 21. *à la Haye*, 1740.

(7) If any traveller could have succeeded in making observation to this effect, it would have been Mr. *W. Hamilton*, during his travels in *Upper Egypt*. In reply to the author's inquiry upon this subject, he says, "I never was in a situation to see mummies in a *constructed* catacomb, or crypt; but a few miles above *Philæ*, I assisted at the opening of a common grave, full of mummies, *lying upon their backs*: these were covered with the common sand of the desert. The sculptures in the *Egyptian* temples, which frequently represent mourners around a mummy, *always place the latter in a horizontal posture*." The testimony of one of Mr. *Hamilton*'s fellow travellers at *Saccára* also confirms what has been said of the difficulty of making these observations. "We did not see the mummies of human bodies: those pits which the *Arabs* generally shew are filled up with sand, interspersed with bones, and not at all interesting to examine. The places in which there are perfect mummies are covered over with palm-branches and sand, with a view to conceal their situation. There is a sort of *mummy trade* among the *Arabs*; and you are much more likely to procure one at CAIRO than at SACCARA." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

(8) See *Denon*, vol. II. p. 224. *Vansleb* (Relation d'*Egypte*, p. 149. *Par.* 1667) has a different expression, "*Un puits vierge*."

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DENON says[1], "*It was a particular which they concealed with the utmost obstinacy.*" MAILLET mentions the same difficulty[2]. With regard to the different attitudes assigned by *Maillet* and by *Pococke* to the bodies of the rich and the poor in *Egyptian* sepulchres, it may generally be remarked, that the more magnificent an *Egyptian* tomb is found to be, the more striking is the evidence it contains for the horizontal position of the body: witness the *Soros* of the principal *pyramid* of *Djïza*, and the *Sarcophagi* mentioned by *Denon* in the *sepulchres* of *Thebes*[3].

Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot reconcile existing facts with the common notion which has been derived from the text of *Herodotus*, it is more reasonable to admit that his meaning has been misunderstood, than that the text itself involves an error; that he alludes, in fact, to the position of the mummy in the *private dwellings* of those among the *Egyptians* who had no sepulchre for its reception. In their private houses the *Egyptians* placed the bodies upright. This we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, who says[4],

(1) Travels in *Egypt*, Eng. Edit. p. 224. vol. II. *Lond.* 1803.
(2) Décr. de l'*Egypte*, tom. II. p. 22. *à la Haye*, 1740.
(3) Voyage en *Egypte*, tom. I. p. 236. *Paris Edit.*
(4) *Diodor. Sic.* lib. i. c. 92. *Amst.* 1746.

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"They who have not sepulchres *built*[5], make a new building in *their own houses*, and place the chest upright." *Silius Italicus* alludes also to this standing posture[6].

After our descent into these *catacombs*, we were taken to other *mummy pits;* but the smell in all of them was offensive, and the appearances were merely repetitions of what we had seen before. Every one of these places had been opened, and ransacked, by the *Arabs*. We observed a beautiful crystallization, in diverging fibres, of some white substance, upon the wall of one of the chambers, perhaps a *fibrous carbonat of soda;* but in our endeavours to remove it, the specimen was destroyed: it broke immediately upon the slightest touch. We were then conducted to the mouth of one of those subterraneous repositories in which the *embalmed birds* were deposited. Like the entrance to all the other catacombs, this resembled that of a well. We descended, as before, by our rope ladder, to the depth of twenty feet; and here found a level, or horizontal duct, along which we were compelled

Repository of *embalmed Birds*

(5) Κτίσας. Ibid.

(6) "Ægyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus *stantia* busto
Corpora."——

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to creep upon our bellies, to the distance of about sixty feet, when we came to a central place, where several passages diverged[1]. These were almost choked by sand, by a number of broken jars, and by a quantity of swathing and of embalmed substances, looking like so much tinder and charcoal dust, which had been taken out of those jars. As we followed the intricate windings of these channels, we came at last to a passage ten feet in height, and six in width, where the whole space was filled, from the floor to the roof, by the jars, in an entire state, as they were originally deposited. These have often been described. They were all lying horizontally, tier upon tier, the covers

(1) "The well itself is about six feet square: the sand, and stones, and broken pottery, which are constantly falling, render the descent extremely inconvenient. At the bottom of it is a small hole, which, by those who are at all corpulent, is passed with very great difficulty: indeed, each time it is necessary to clear the sand from the hole, which constantly fills up the entrance. Here, having taken off our coats, with candles in our hands, our faces to the ground, our feet foremost, and an *Arab* pulling our legs from within, we worked our way through a passage about twenty yards in length, until we arrived at the place where the sacred birds are deposited. The whole is excavated out of the solid rock, and of an inconceivable extent. We did not wander far from the entrance, fearful of being lost in the labyrinth. To the right and left of the entrance are passages, which, as you advance, branch off in various directions." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

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being towards the outside, after the manner in which quart bottles are often placed in our cellars. We took down several of them; but as fast as we removed one row, another appeared behind it: and, as we were told by the *Arabs*, such is their prodigious number, that if hundreds were removed, the space behind them would appear similarly filled up. The same appearance is presented at the extremities of all these galleries, the passages having been cleared only by the removal of the jars. We opened several of them in the pit. For the most part, the contents of all these vessels were the same; but there were some exceptions. Generally, after unfolding the linen swathing, we found a bird, resembling the *English curlew*, having a long beak, long legs, and white feathers tipped with black. It is certainly the same bird which *Bruce* has described[2], called by the *Arabs*, *Abou Hannes*[3]. In some of these

(2) See the plate and description of this bird in BRUCE's *Travels*, vol. V. p. 172. *Edin.* 1790.

(3) The only entire specimen of this bird, taken from its embalmed state, was obtained from one of the *Egyptian* jars by Mr. *John Pearson*, Surgeon, of *London*; who, having carefully removed all the linen swathing, and every extraneous substance, succeeded in the entire developement of the perfect animal. Mr. *Pearson* communicated his observations upon the subject to the *Royal Society*, among whose *Transactions* they were published; accompanied by an engraved representation

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jars, however, instead of a *bird*, were found parts of other animals, carefully embalmed, and wrapped in linen; as the head of a *monkey*, or of a *cat*, without the entire body. Such appearances are rare. *Pococke* relates, that, in one of the irregular apartments, he saw several larger jars, which might be intended for *dogs*, or for other animals: of these, says he, some have been found, but they are now very rare[1]. We saw none of those larger jars: they all appeared to be of equal size, about fourteen inches in length, of a conical form, and made after the same manner, of coarse earthenware. A luting fastened on the cover: this luting has been described as mortar, but it seems rather to have consisted of the mud of the *Nile*[2]. It required considerable labour to move about a dozen of these jars with us, in our passage back

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representation of the bird, as it appeared after the covering was removed.—See also a very interesting publication, entitled *Histoire Naturelle et Mythologique de l'*Ibis; par Jules-César Savigny, *Membre de l'Institut d'Egypte.* 8vo. with Plates exquisitely drawn and coloured. *Paris*, 1805.

(1) Description of the East, vol. I. p. 53. *Lond.* 1743.

(2) "The pottery itself, although three thousand years old, appears as new as if it were of yesterday. We broke several of the pots, and found some very perfect birds. We met with a wing of the *Ibis*, having the feathers still on the pinion: as soon, however, as this was exposed to the air, the plumage fell to pieces, and was lost." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

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to the mouth of the repository; but we succeeded in rolling them before us, until we regained the rope-ladder, when they were easily raised to the surface, and afterwards sent to *England*, to be distributed among our friends. Another obligation now remains to be fulfilled; namely, that of endeavouring to account for the singular deposit of these *birds* in the manner which has been described.

Cause of the Interment of the *Ibis*.

A reverence for certain birds that destroy flies and serpents seems common to the inhabitants of all countries. In almost all parts of the world, it is considered as an unpropitious omen to put to death the *swallow* or the *marten*. The same respect has generally been paid to the *stork*, the *heron*, and their different species. At this day, the coming of these birds is hailed as a lucky presage over all the North of *Europe*; particularly in *Denmark* and in *Holland*, where the nests of the *stork* may be observed upon the roofs of cottages and farm-houses, in almost every village. It is observed by *Pauw*[3], that the *Turks*, who do not pretend to be idolaters, are as careful in preventing the *Ibis* from being

(3) Philosophical Dissertations on the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*, vol. II. p. 100.

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destroyed as were the *Greeks* and *Romans*. It would have been well if this writer had explained what particular *bird* he alluded to under this appellation; because it is believed that the bird antiently called *Ibis* is become very rare in *Turkey*. The *Egyptians*, says *Pauw*[1], instead of being the inventors of a superstitious reverence for the *stork* and the *Ibis*, brought this with them from *Æthiopia*; together with the worship of the *cat*, the *weasel*, the *ichneumon*, the *sparrow-hawk*, the *vulture*, and the *screech-owl*; a worship founded on the utility of these animals. "It was absolutely necessary," says he[2], "to put them under the protection of the law, otherwise the country would have been altogether uninhabitable." The *Mahommedans*, according to *Shaw*[3], have the *stork*[4] in the highest esteem and veneration: it is as sacred among them as the *Ibis* was among the *Egyptians*; and no less profane would that person be accounted, who should attempt to kill, nay, even to hurt

(1) Philosophical Dissertations on the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*, vol. II. p. 100. *Lond.* 1795.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Travels, p. 410. *Lond.* 1757.

(4) "*Leklek*, or *Legleg*, is the name that is commonly used by the *Arabian* authors, although *Bel-arje* prevails all over *Barbary*. *Bochart* (*Hierog. lib.* ii. *cap.* 29.) supposeth it to be the same with the *Hasida* of the Scriptures." *Ibid. Note* 6.

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or to molest it[5]. We are moreover told by *Pliny*, that the *Egyptians* invoked the *Ibis* against the approach of *serpents*[6]. In the earliest ages of *Egyptian* history, the same regard was paid to the *Ibis*, and for the same cause. *Josephus* mentions this bird in the beginning of his *Jewish Annals*, as harmless to all creatures, except to *serpents*. He relates that *Moses*, leading an army into *Ethiopia*, made use of the *Ibis* to destroy a swarm of *serpents* that infested his passage[7]. *Cicero* alludes to this property in the *Ibis*[8]; and *Pliny* speaks of the reverence in which it was held. The punishment in *Thessaly* for having occasioned the death of one of these birds was equal to that for homicide[9]. Thus we have the most ample testimony as to the veneration in which these birds were universally held. The peculiar circumstances which

(5) Travels, ibid.

(6) "Invocant et Ægyptii Ibes suas contra serpentium adventum." *Plin. Hist. Nat. cap.* 28. *tom.* I. *p.* 530. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(7) *Josephi Hist. Antiq. Jud. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. *Colon.* 1691. It is however maintained by *Savigny*, from the anatomy of the *Ibis*, that this bird could not have swallowed serpents.

(8) "Ibes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt," &c. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib.* i. *p.* 210. *Ed. Lamb.*

(9) "Honos iis serpentium exitio tantus, ut in Thessalia capitale fuerit occidisse, eademque legibus pœna, quæ in homicidam." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* x. *c.* 23. *tom.* I. *p.* 527. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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occasioned the remarkable burial of so many of their bodies in the *Catacombs* of *Egypt* are explained by *Ibn Washi*, an *Arabian* writer; who says, that it was usual to embalm and bury an *Ibis* at the initiation of the priests[1]. When we reflect upon the number of the priests who officiated in the temples and colleges of the country, and the lapse of ages during which the practice continued, extending even to the conquest of *Egypt* by the *Arabs*, we may easily account for the astonishing number of these birds thus preserved. *Plutarch*, moreover, mentions the burial of the *Ibis*, and of other animals held sacred among the *Egyptians*. He says, it was sometimes a private, and sometimes a public ceremony[2]. The *Ibis*, with other sacred animals, was put to death by the priests, and *privately* buried, as an expiatory sacrifice to avert pestilential diseases. The burial was *public* when any particular species of the sacred animals was to be interred[3].

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(1) See the work of *Ibn Washi*, on Antient Alphabets, &c. as translated by Mr. *Hammer*. The same writer is mentioned by *Kircher*, under the name of *Aben Vaschia*.

(2) *Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir. c.* 73. *Camb.* 1744.

(3) Ibid.

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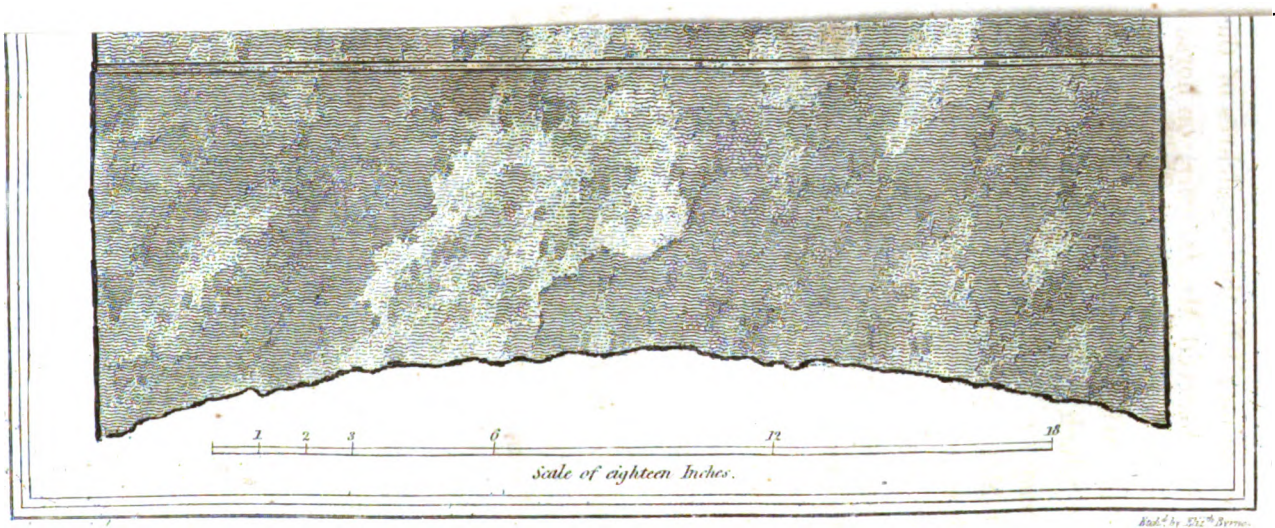

HIEROGLYPHIC TABLET,

as it was found at Saccara, closing the mouth of one of the Mummy Pits.

Published Nov.r 15th 1823, by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand London.

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We had no sooner left the sepulchres of the *Ibis*, than we observed Mr. *Hammer*, on horseback, coming towards us, followed by a large party of *Arabs*, who were dragging after them a large stone, which had closed the mouth of one of the *Mummy-pits*. It was a very fine *hieroglyphical* tablet; and as Mr. *Hammer* wished very much to send it to the *Oriental* Academy of *Vienna*, we assisted him in moving it towards the *djerm*, and succeeded in getting it on board. I was afterwards sent to *Rosetta*, and to the *English* fleet; but we are yet ignorant whether it ever reached its destination. In the fear that it may have been lost, and at the same time in the hope of making known to whom it properly belongs, if it now exist in other hands than those for whom Mr. *Hammer* intended it, a few words may be added as a description of it, accompanied by an engraved representation of the stone.

Hieroglyphic tablet.

It seemed, from the rude and angular style of the sculpture, as well as from the substance itself, upon which the characters were engraved, to be of the highest degree of antiquity. It was a slab of common grey limestone, about four feet in length, and two in breadth. Certain of the inscribed characters (for example,

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ΙΑΙ and ΙΑΙ) are so evidently written letters, that if this single tablet alone remain, as a specimen of *hieroglyphic* writing, there will be little reason to doubt the use of these characters. Among the four figures in the upper department, *Anubis* appears with an egg upon his head, and the *Crux ansata* in his left hand. *Osiris*, by his side, bears in his right hand the *flagellum*, and in his left the *crook*. Upon the right and left of these figures, on either side, is seen an altar supporting the *lotus flower*; and, beyond these, are two figures, in the attitude of *Almehs*, uttering the *Eleleú* at funerals, but perhaps intended to represent a similar ceremony as practised by the *priests*, who are distinguished by the baldness of their heads. *Herodotus* says that it was the peculiar custom of the *Egyptian* priests to shave their heads[1]: it was transmitted from the *Heathen* into the *Christian* Church, and still remains among the *Monastic* orders of the *Roman Catholics*. St. *Jerom*[2] and St. *Ambrose*[3], both of

(1) *Herodot. Euterpe, c.* 36. *Eudoxus* shaved not only his beard, but his eyebrows, during the time that he resided with the priests of *Egypt*. *Diogen. Laert. lib.* viii. *segment.* 87. *p.* 545. *Herodotus* further relates (*Euterpe, c.* 37.) that the priests shaved their whole bodies every third day.

(2) *Hieron.* in Com. in *Ezek.* c. 44.

(3) *Ambros.* Ep. 36. ad *Sabin.*

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whom were well acquainted with its *Pagan* origin, inveigh against this custom, as a ceremony of the priests of *Isis*. The whole of this symbolical picture may have related to a sepulchral subject: its meaning was explained by inscriptions placed above the figures, and in other parts of the tablet. *Anubis* with the egg, and the type of *Life to come* in his left hand[4], may typify that embryo state of the soul which precedes its revivification after death; as may also the unexpanded flower of the *Lotus*. Another symbolical picture, below this, exhibits a solemn procession, perhaps the same which *Plutarch* describes[5] as taking place annually, upon the nineteenth of the *Egyptian* month *Pachon;* when the priests carried rich odours and spices to celebrate the *finding of Osiris,* a ceremony much resembling that of *the Resurrection* in the *Greek* Church; the *Christos voscress* of the *Russians*. Inscriptions occupy all the rest of the tablet, either engraven in regular lines beneath, upon the lower part of the stone, or above the heads and by the sides of the pictured figures. This very curious relic, therefore,

(4) See Chap. IV. pp. 152, 153, of this Volume.
(5) *De Isid. et Osir. p.* 39. *Camb.* 1744.

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shews us, not only the *sacred writing*, but also the sort of *symbolical painting* used by the priests of *Egypt*. At the same time, in rudeness of design, and in the forced exhibition of profile, the style of delineation resembles that which is seen upon the most antient *(fictile)* vases, found in the sepulchres of those *Grecian* colonies that were established in the south of *Italy*.

Antelope.

Some young *Arabs* brought us an *antelope*, which they had recently caught. This we purchased of them for three *piastres;* about four shillings of our money. They had so bruised its legs with cords, that, notwithstanding all our endeavours to preserve this beautiful animal, it lived with us but a short time. The poor creature, after being compelled to exchange its free range of the desert for a confined birth on board the *djerm*, grew tame, and seemed sensible of the kindness of its keepers; for it actually died licking the hands of the person who fed it. The people of *Saccára* brought us also several antique *idols, beads, amulets*, &c. found about the *Pyramids*, and in the *Catacombs*. Of these we shall briefly notice the more remarkable.

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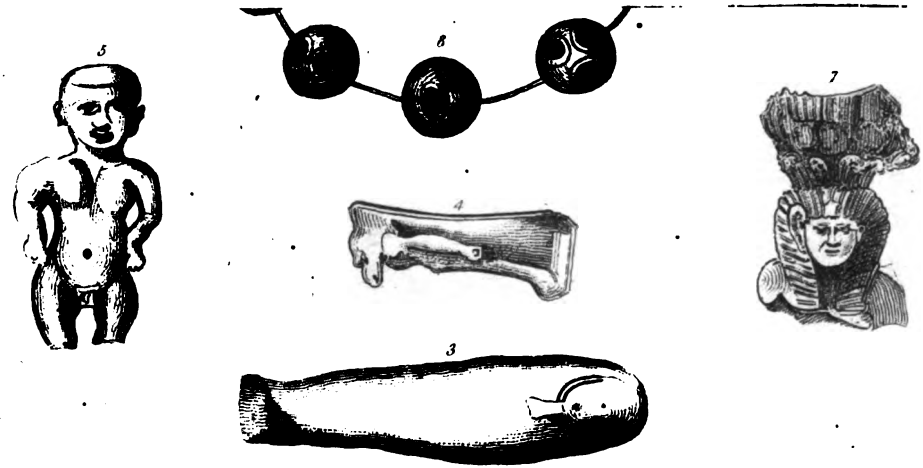

R.B. Harraden del.

Lewis Byrne sc.

LARES. BEADS. AMULETS &c found at SACCARA.

Published Oct.r 14. 1813. by T. Cadell & W. Davies Strand London.

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1. *Scarabæi*, formed of *onyx-stones*, with *signets*, containing *hieroglyphic* characters, but executed in the coarsest manner; the stones being at the same time so decomposed, that they are become of a whitish colour, quite opaque, and externally resemble common *limestone*. Of this nature were the signets mentioned by *Plutarch*, as worn by soldiers[1]. *See Nos.* 1, *and* 2, *of the Plate.*
2. Small *lachrymatory* vessels of *terra-cotta*, formed of pale-white clay, without varnish.
3. Vessels of libation, of the same materials.
4. Knife-blades of *bronze*. These are frequently represented in hieroglyphic writing.
5. Small idols, formed of blue glass, shaped to resemble the form of the *Mummy-chests*. *See No.* 3.
6. Smaller images of *Anubis*, of the same substance, bored to be worn as ear-drops, or amulets round the neck. *See No.* 4.
7. Similar figures of *Orus*. *See No.* 5.
8. Sculptured idols, formed of *limestone*, representing the double image of *Leo* and *Virgo*, crowned by an orb, as the SUN. *See No.* 6.

(1) *De Isid. et Osir. c.* 10. *Lut.* 1624.

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9. Similar figures of Isis. *See No. 7.*

10. Beads of white glass, each of which has *seven* blue spots. *See No. 8.*

11. Beads of white glass, without spots.

12. Deformed images, resembling the idols of *India* and *China*. *See No. 9.*

13. *Phalli*, and indecent images of *Osiris*, as mentioned by *Plutarch*[1]. All these are of blue glass, bored, to be worn as amulets.

14. Small amulets of the same substance, and similarly bored, which are very numerous, representing a *horse's head*. This is the symbol which *Virgil* mentions as being found by the *Carthaginians* in digging for the foundation of their city[2]. It is represented upon the medals of *Carthage*, which probaby suggested the circumstance to *Virgil's* mind. It also appears upon the *Soros*, called the *Lover's Fountain*, which

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(1) Παντα χοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεικόμορφον Ὀσίριδος ἄγαλμα διατέτακται, ἐξαφιᾶζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ, διὰ τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ τρόφιμον. *Plut. de Isid. et Osir. c.* 51. *Lut.* 1624.

(2) "Lucus in urbe fuit media, lætissimus umbrâ,
Quo primum jactati undis et turbine, Pœni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi."——— *Æneid.* I. 445.

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was found near the castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in *Caïro*, and is now in the *British Museum*. Nor are we without its explanation; for *Ceres*, who was the same as *Isis*, was worshipped under the form of a *horse's head* in *Sicily*. It is therefore only one of the modifications under which the Antients recognised *Isis*, the *Pantamorpha Mater*. Some of these *amulets* were curiously adorned with small eyes of antient bronze. *See Nos.* 10, 11.

15. Sculptured images, formed of an opaque vitrified substance, resembling *No.* 5. only larger in size, and covered with hieroglyphic characters. These were about four inches in length. *See Nos.* 12, 13.

Horses of the Country.

The horses of our *Arab* guard were the finest we had ever seen; not even excepting those of *Circassia*. In choosing their steeds, the *Arabs* prefer mares: the *Turks* give the preference to stallions. The *Mamalukes* and *Bedouin Arabs* are perhaps better mounted than any people upon earth; and the *Arab* grooms were considered, by many of our officers, as superior to those of our own country. These grooms affirm that their horses never lie down, but sleep standing, when they are fastened by one leg to a post;

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and that the saddle is never taken off, except for cleaning the animal. We give this relation as we heard it, without venturing to vouch for its truth. After paying the *Sheik* for the horses we had hired, and the peasants for their labour, we returned in our boat to *Sheik Atman*, where we had rested the preceding night; and found, as before, a party of *Almehs*, with bells upon their fingers, exhibiting the dance we had then noticed, as if it had continued, without intermission, from the time of our first coming to the village. Several *Turkish* soldiers had arrived from the *Vizier*, to collect straw for his cavalry. While our servant was conversing with one of these men, who was seated upon the ground observing the dance, an *Arab*, understanding the *Turkish* language, joined them, and entered into conversation. This man contrived to steal from the servant his purse, containing four sequins of *Holland*. Upon being accused of the theft, he denied it; but all the *Turks*, indignant at the audacious manner in which the theft had been committed, insisted upon a general search. The money was found in the *Arab's* shoes, placed beneath his pillow, under a date-tree; and the purse, where he had thrown it, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. Upon the following morning we left the village

Theft detected.

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as soon as daylight appeared, and at eleven A. M. again entered the canal of *Caïro*. CHAP. V.

Having thus concluded our observations upon the PYRAMIDS of *Saccára*, as well as those of *Djïza*, the remainder of this chapter will be appropriated to a few observations upon the history of these remarkable monuments.

History of the PYRAMIDS.

After the numerous accounts which, during so many ages, have been written to illustrate the origin of the PYRAMIDS, it is not probable that any new remarks will meet with much attention. Yet how few, among all the authors who have undertaken to investigate this subject, have ever ventured to express an opinion of their own. Struck by the magnitude of the objects themselves; by their immense antiquity; and by a consciousness of the obscurity in which their history has been veiled, every succeeding traveller contents himself with a detail of the observations of his predecessors, only shewing the extent of the labyrinth wherein he is bewildered. Yet something, perhaps, might be accomplished, were it allowable, upon good authority, to annihilate a most redundant source of error and imposture. With this view, it may be advisable to abandon all that the

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Grecian historians have written upon the subject[1]. The arrogance and vanity with which they endeavoured to explain every thing, consistently with their own fables and prejudices, caused the well-known observation made to *Solon* by an *Egyptian* priest, who, according to *Plato*, maintained that the "*Greeks* were always children, and had no knowledge of antiquity." Hence originate those difficulties mentioned by *Pauw*, as encountered by persons who study the monuments of a country concerning which the *moderns* have conspired with the *antients* to give us false ideas. "The latter indeed," says he[2], "were probably deceived by being at the discretion of a set of men called *Interpreters*, whose college was established in the reign of *Psammetichus*, and who might be compared to those people called *Ciceroni* at Rome. Travellers who went and returned, like *Herodotus*, without knowing a word of the language of the country, could learn nothing but from these *Interpreters*. These men, perceiving the inclination of the *Greeks* for the marvellous, amused them, like children, with stories inconsistent

(1) "Mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas. Nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* viii. *c.* 20. *tom.* I. *p.* 425. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) Philosoph. Diss. on the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*, vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795.

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with common sense, and unworthy of the majesty of history." If we would obtain authentic information concerning the earliest history of the *Egyptians*, we must be contented to glean from other sources; and principally from *Jewish* and *Arabian* writers. The *Jews*, by the long residence of their forefathers in *Egypt*, and also by the constant intercourse offered in the contiguity of this country and *Judæa*, were of all people the most likely to have preserved some knowledge of *Egyptian* antiquities: and the *Arabs* have preserved not only the names bestowed upon the *Pyramids* from the earliest times, but also some traditions as to the use for which they were intended. By the dim light thus afforded, and by comparing the existing remains with similar works in other countries, and with the knowledge we possess of the customs of all nations in their infancy, we may possibly attain something beyond mere conjecture, as to the people by whom the *Pyramids* were erected, and the purpose for which they were intended. The epocha of their origin was unknown when the first *Greek* philosophers travelled into *Egypt*[3].

(3) "Nihil certius est, quam omnia, quæ de conditoribus Pyramidum prodita nobis sunt ab Ægyptiis et Græcis, esse incertissima. Ipsi id Veteres fatentur." *Perizonii Ægypt. Orig. et Temp. antiquiss. Investigatio, cap.* xxi. *p.* 386. *L. Bat.* 1711.

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They are even more antient than the age of the earliest writers whose works have been transmitted to us. That we may arrive, therefore, at any thing like satisfactory information concerning them, the following order of inquiry may be deemed requisite:

Manner of the Investigation.

I. Who were the *inhabitants* of this part of *Egypt* in the remote period to which these monuments refer?

II. Is there any thing in the *Pyramids*, as they now appear, which corresponds with any of the known customs of *this people?*

III. Did any thing occur in the history of the *same people* which can *possibly* be adduced to explain the present violated state of the principal *pyramid?*

IV. Doth any record or tradition attribute the origin of the *Pyramids* to *this people*, or to a period equally remote with that of their residence in *Egypt?*

If the *three last* of these queries admit of an answer in the affirmative, and a satisfactory reply can be given to the *first*, the result will surely be, either that we do possess documents sufficient to illustrate this very difficult subject, or, at least, that a very high degree of probability

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attaches to the opinion thereby suggested; and that the obscurity in which this part of antient history has been involved, is principally owing to the cause assigned by *Pauw*[1], namely, to a train of theories founded upon the bewildering fables of the *Greeks*.

To proceed, therefore, according to the proposed method of investigation:

I.

Who were the Inhabitants of this part of Egypt, in the remote period to which these monuments refer?

Age of the Pyramids.

The kingdom of *Egypt*, according to the best authorities admitted in chronology[2], had lasted about seventeen hundred years at the conquest of *Cambyses*[3]. The *first Princes* spoken of in Sacred Scripture are those "of *Pharaoh*," mentioned in the books of *Moses*[4], near two thousand years before the *Christian* æra. The *first pyramid*, according to *Herodotus*[5], was built by *Mœris*, the last of a line of kings from *Menes* to

(1) Philosoph. Diss. &c. vol. II. p. 43. *Lond.* 1795.
(2) See the calculation of *Constantine Manasses*.
(3) B. C. 525.
(4) "The Princes also of *Pharaoh*." *Genes.* xii. 15.
(5) *Herodot. Euterpe.* c. 101.

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Sesostris; and therefore it must have been erected some ages before the *Trojan* war. Without, however, placing any reliance upon this record, or attempting to assign a particular epocha for any one of these monuments, we may venture to assume, as a fact, upon the authority of all writers by whom they are noticed, that they existed above sixteen hundred years before the birth of *Christ.* Almost a century before that time, the prosperity of *Joseph,* then a ruler in this country, and a dweller in the very city to which these monuments belonged, is described as having extended "unto the utmost bounds of THE EVERLASTING HILLS." These words[1], as applied to the place of his residence, and the seat of his posterity, are very remarkable. He "bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh,*" reducing all its independent provinces into one monarchy. The entire administration of this empire was entrusted to him; for *Pharaoh* said[2], "Only in the throne will I be greater than thou." In the remote period, therefore, to which the *Pyramids* refer, "*Joseph* dwelt in *Egypt,* he, and his father's house." It is said of them[3], that they "increased

(1) *Gen.* xlix. 26. (2) Ibid. xli. 40.
(3) *Exod.* i. 7.

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abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them." The customs of embalming bodies, and of placing them in sepulchral chambers, were then practised; for *Jacob*[4] was embalmed, and "gathered unto his fathers in the cave of the field of *Ephron*." At the death of *Joseph*, he too was embalmed[5], but not "gathered unto his fathers." He was entombed, to use the literal expression of the Septuagint[6], EN THI ŻOPΩI, in *Egypt*. And this mode of his interment suggests a reply to the *second* question before proposed. CHAP. V.

II.

Is there any thing in the Pyramids, as they now appear, which corresponds with any of the known Customs of this People?

Sepulchral Origin of the PYRAMIDS.

The nature of a *Soros* has been repeatedly explained, upon the indisputable authority of *Inscriptions* where this name has been assigned to a particular kind of receptacle for the dead, one of which now exists in the chamber of the principal *pyramid*. This kind of coffin has sometimes one of its extremities rounded, and

(4) *Exod.* L. 2. (5) Ibid. L. 26.
(6) Ibid. L. 26.

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sometimes both are squared; but its dimensions are almost always the same, and it is very generally *monolithal*, or of one stone. This is the kind of coffin which the *Romans* called *Sarcophagus*[1]; and any doubt as to its use, seems to be without reason; because the *Soros*, in many instances, has borne, not only its name inscribed upon it in legible characters, but also the purport for which it was intended. The principal *pyramid* therefore contains that which corresponds with the known customs of a people who inhabited *Egypt* in the remote period to which the *Pyramids* refer, because *Joseph's* body was put ἐν τῇ Σόρῳ. And on this fact alone, if no other could be adduced, the *sepulchral origin* of those monuments is decidedly manifest[2].

III.

Did any thing occur in the History of the same People which can possibly be adduced to explain the present violated state of the principal Pyramid?

Previous to the consideration of this question, it may be proper to mention, that the custom

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(1) *Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l.* xviii. *c.* 5. *Julius Pollux*, x. 150.

(2) "Communior ergo sententia fuit, sepulchra fuisse Regum (*Vide Diodorum Sic. lib.* i. *p.* 40, 41.) quod ex solio seu sandapila in illis residua satis constat." *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. c.* 21. *p.* 393. *L. Bat.* 1711.

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of heaping an artificial mound, whether of stones or of earth, above the *Soros*, after interment, was a common practice of the Antients. Examples of this kind have been previously alluded to in the former volumes of these Travels. The most antient form of this sort of mound was not *pyramidal*. However antient the *pyramids* may be, a simpler hemispheroïdal or conical form seems to have preceded the more artificial angular structure. Among the *Pyramids* of *Saccára*, which appear to be more antient than those of *Dj̈iza*, there are instances, as we have shewn, not only of this primeval pile, but of its various modifications, until it assumed the *pyramidal* shape. One example has been noticed among the *Pyramids* of *Saccára*, of an immense mound, which corresponds in its form with the common appearance presented by antient *Tumuli* almost all over the world, as they are found in countries where the *pyramidal* shape was never introduced. But to proceed, in the discussion of the *third* question.

Possible Cause of the Violation of the principal *Pyramid*.

The body of *Joseph* being thus placed ἐν τῇ Σόρῳ, and buried according to the accustomed usage of the *Egyptians* (as manifest by the existence of one of their antient sepulchres containing the receptacle in question), was not intended to

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remain in *Egypt*. The *Israelites* had bound themselves to him by an oath, that when they left the land, they would "carry his bones" with them [1]. Accordingly we find, that when a century and a half had elapsed from the time of his burial, the *sepulchre*, which during all this period had preserved his relics in a *Soros*, was opened by the children of *Israel*. Their number amounted to six hundred thousand men when they went out of *Egypt*, besides the mixed multitude by whom they were accompanied [2]; a sufficient army, surely, even for the opening of a *pyramid* if it were necessary, especially when the persons employed for the undertaking were acquainted with the secret of its entrance; having, from the very moment of the patriarch's interment, been under a solemn engagement to remove the body which they had there placed. However this may be determined, it is certain the tomb was opened; for no sooner is their departure mentioned, than we read [3]—"*Moses* took the bones of *Joseph* with him." Here, then, we have a record in history,

(1) "And *Joseph* took an oath of the children of *Israel*, saying, *God* will surely visit you, and you shall carry up my bones from hence." *Gen.* L. 25.

(2) *Exod.* xii. 37, 38.

(3) Ibid. xiii. 19.

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which implies the violation of a *sepulchre*, and the actual removal of an embalmed body from the *Soros* in which it is said to have been deposited. The locality, too, of this *sepulchre* seems to coincide with that of the particular cœmetery where this *pyramid* has for so many ages unaccountably borne the marks of a similar violation; its secret entrance being disclosed to view; and its *Soros* always empty[4]. It is by no means here presumed that this circumstance *will* account for its violated state; but it furnishes a curious coincidence between the present appearance of the *pyramid*, and a fact recorded in antient history which *may possibly be urged* to that effect. No other *pyramid* has been thus opened; neither is it probable that any such violation of a *sepulchre* would ever have been formerly tolerated; so sacrilegious was the attempt held to be among all the nations of antiquity, *Egyptians*, *Jews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*[5].

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(4) "Locus quoque, in quo conditæ sunt Pyramides, ab *Israëlitarum* habitatione minime fuit alienus." *Perizonii Origines Ægyptiacæ*, *c.* 21. *p.* 390. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(5) See Chap. VIII. p. 384, and Notes, of the preceding Volume of these Travels. *Theocrit. Idyll.* xv. 207.; also the denunciations contained in *Inscriptions* against those who presumed to violate a sepulchre. *Muratori* has preserved an inscription found upon a tomb in *Athens;* and the following extract from the *Latin* version of it in his work, will shew what the feelings of the Antients were in this respect: "*Si quis spoliaverit hoc*

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At the same time, there are many weighty arguments against the opinion that such a stupendous *pyramid* would have been erected by *Joseph's* posterity over his remains, even if they had worshipped him as a god, when it was known that his body was not intended to remain in the country: but the honours paid to the dead in *Egypt* were, in certain instances, as it is evident, almost beyond our conception; and there is no saying what, in a century and a half, the piety of some hundred thousand individuals might not have effected, especially when aided by the *Egyptians* themselves, who equally revered the memory of *Joseph*, although they became, at last, inimical to his descendants. This part of the subject is not altogether essential to the end proposed: it has been introduced rather as a curious inquiry suggested by the

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hoc sepulcrum, vel aperiet, vel etiam aliquid aliud dimovebit, vel ipse, vel per alium, nec terram sibi ambulanti, nec mare naviganti (propitia habeat), *sed eradicetur in omni generatione, omnia mala experiatur, et horrorem, et febrim, et quartanam, et elephantiasim, et cuncta mala, et quæcumque hominibus accidunt, ea eveniant illi, qui ausus fuerit ex hoc sepulcro aliquid dimovere.*" *Muratori* Thesaur. Vet. Inscript. p. 1298. No. 5. vol. III. class. 19. *Mediol.* 1740. The very name of such a violated monument was used, even among the *Israelites* themselves, to denote whatsoever was revolting and horrible. Thus *David*, speaking of his enemies, says, "THEIR THROAT IS AN OPEN SEPULCHRE;" a passage of Scripture which loses all its force and beauty, unless it be understood with reference to this species of sacrilege.

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connection which appears to exist between the *Pyramids* and the *history* of the *Hebrews*: it neither affects nor alters the main argument, as to the nature of these monuments in general.

IV.

Doth any record or tradition attribute the origin of the PYRAMIDS *to the* ISRAELITES, *or to a period equally remote with that of their residence in Egypt?*

Historical Evidence concerning the building of *Pyramids* in *Egypt*.

This brings us to the last article of the inquiry. For the *record*, we have only to refer to *Josephus*[1]; who expressly states it as one of the grievous oppressions which befel the *Hebrews* after the death of *Joseph*, that they were compelled to labour IN BUILDING PYRAMIDS[2]; and the curious memorial, as given by the *Jewish* Historian, is sustained by collateral evidence in the books of *Moses*. The principal labour of the *Israelites* is described in *Exodus*[3] to be a daily task of making *bricks*, without being allowed a requisite portion of *straw* for their manufacture. The mere circumstance of six

(1) "Ego certe Josepho, Israëlitarum tempore factas censenti accesserim." *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. c.* 21. *p.* 387. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(2) Πυραμίδας τε ἀναπλάττουσι ἐξίσχυον ἡμῶν τὸ γένος. "Pyramidibus etiam exstruendis homines nostros adhibentes deterebant." *Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib.* ii. *c.* 9. *Edit. Havercampi, tom.* I. *p.* 97. 1726.

(3) *Exod.* v. 16.

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hundred thousand persons being employed at the same time in making *bricks*, affords of itself a proof that the building for which these materials were required could be of no ordinary magnitude[1]. This happened, too, after the *death* of one of the kings of *Egypt*[2], at which time, it is said, they began "to sigh, by reason of their bondage." It is therefore very probable that the *pyramid* at which they laboured was the *sepulchre* of this king: this is matter of conjecture; although it may be added, that one of the *Pyramids* near *Saccára* is built of *bricks, containing chopped straw*[3]. The fact for present attention

(1) "Quid vero tanto temporis intervallo tot millia hominum perfecerint, non reperimus, nisi munitionem duarum vel trium urbium, quæ ab iis intra paucissimos annos facillime perfici potuit. Debuerunt etiam aliud quid maximæ molis, laboris, temporis, præstitisse, quodque conveniens esset aliquot centenis millibus hominum longissimo et continuo tempore ad opus adactis. Nihil autem majus et operosius in Ægypto, atque ejus Historia invenimus exstructione Pyramidum, quas ab aliis, aut alio tempore exstructas minime constat." *Perizon. Orig. Ægypt.* c. 21. p. 388. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(2) *Exod.* ii. 23.

(3) *See Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol.* I. p. 53. *Lond.* 1743. It stands about three miles and a half to the south of the *Pyramids* of *Saccára*, near the village of *Menshieh Dashour*, and is called *Ktoube-el-Menshieh*, the *bricks of Menshieh*. It is mentioned by HERODOTUS (*Euterpe*, c. 136). *Greaves*, who, though an accurate writer, was not always an accurate observer, after two visits made to the *Pyramids*, and having, as he says, (*Pref. to Pyramidog. Lond.* 1646.) examined *even the neighbouring desert*, knew not the existence of this *pyramid*. And he urges this as a reason for not subscribing to the opinions of those modern writers

is the record preserved by *Josephus*, which attributes to the ISRAELITES *the origin of certain Pyramids in Egypt:* and for other evidence, proving them to have existed in a period equally remote with that in which this people inhabited the country, we may refer to the testimony of *Manetho*, whose authority is respected by *Josephus*, and who, from his situation as an *Egyptian* priest[4], had access to every record preserved in the sacred archives of the country. *Manetho* affirms, that these structures were begun by the fourth king of *Egypt*, during the first dynasty[5]; which carries their antiquity

writers (*Spondanus de Cœmeteriis Sacris, lib.* i. *par.* 1. *cap.* 6. *Brodæus Epigr. Græc. ad vasa*) who believed the *Pyramids* to have been erected by the *Israelites:* "The Sacred Scriptures," says he, "clearely expressing the slaverie of the *Jewes* to have consisted in making *brick*, whereas all these *Pyramids* consist of stone." (*Pyramidographia, p.* 1.) Exactly after the same manner, he neglected to notice the *petrified lentils* described by *Strabo;* and then accounts for their disappearance, by supposing them to have been "consumed by time, or *scattered by the winds*"!!! or, "buried in sand." *Ibid. p.* 119.

(4) *Josephus* says, that the care and continuance of the public records were the peculiar province of the priests. (*Vid. lib.* i. *cont. Apion.* MANETHO belonged to the College at *Heliopolis*, the very seat of *Egyptian* science. His testimony was preferred by *Marsham* to that of *Josephus* himself. However, it should be acknowledged, that *Perizonius*, who considered the Dynasties of *Manetho* as fabulous, attacked *Marsham* upon this ground; describing him as "*absurdissima quæque Manethonis recipiendi studiosior, quam speciosa Josephi.*" Vid. *Jac. Perizonii* ÆGYPT. ORIG. Invest. c. 21. p. 384. *L. Bat.* 1711.

(5) "Etenim Manetho jam in dynastia I. quartum ejus regem

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back to a period earlier than the age of *Abraham*[1]. Of this nature are the *records* required by the last question in the proposed inquiry, without having recourse to any of the writers of *Greece* or *Italy*. As for the *traditions* which refer the origin of these monuments to the age of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, these exist not only among the *Arabians*, but also among the *Jews* and *Egyptians*. The author of a book entitled *Morat Alzeman*, cited by *Greaves* in his *Pyramidographia*[2], speaking of the founders of the *Pyramids*, says, "Some attribute them to *Joseph*, some to *Nimrod*." The *Arabians* distinguished the *Pyramids* by the appellation of *Djebel Pharooun*, or *Pharaoh's Mountains*[3]; and there is not one of these *Oriental* writers who does not consider them as antient *sepulchres*[4].

Upon these premises, thus derived from

Venephen, Pyramidos erexisse tradit; ac dein, in dynastia IV. regem secundum, *Suphin*, pyramidum maximam exstruxisse." *Parisen. Ægyptiacæ, cap.* 21. *p.* 383. *L. Bat.* 1711. This authority, admitted by *Marsham*, is contemned by the author from whom it is now cited.

(1) Ibid. p. 384.

(2) P. 6. *Lond.* 1646.

(3) See also *Egmont* and *Heyman's* Travels, vol. II. p. 85. *Lond.* 1759.

(4) See the Extracts from *Ibn Abd Alhokm*, and the *Arabian* authors, as given by *Greaves*, &c. &c.

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sources that are not liable to the objections urged by *Pauw*, being wholly independent of any notions which he supposes the *Greeks* to have blended with their accounts of the *Pyramids*, the following conclusions may perhaps appear to be warranted:

1. That the *Hebrews* inhabited *Egypt* in the period to which the PYRAMIDS may be referred.
2. That the PYRAMIDS contain an existing document corresponding with the mode of interment practised by this people, and were therefore intended as *sepulchres*.
3. That the present state of the principal PYRAMID may *possibly* be owing to the circumstance related in their history, of the removal of *Joseph*'s relics from the *Soros* in which they had been preserved.
4. That from the records of *Jewish* and *Egyptian* historians, as well as from the traditions of the country, we may attribute the origin of some of the PYRAMIDS to the *Hebrews* themselves; and may assign to others a period even more remote than the age in which this people inhabited *Egypt*.

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Further View of the Subject.

In the principal point to be determined, namely, the use for which these structures were erected by the Antients, there cannot remain even the shadow of a doubt. That they were *sepulchres*, has been demonstrated beyond the possibility of a contradiction; and in proving this, all the best authorities have long concurred[1]. In their whole extent from *Djïza* to *Saccára*, the PYRAMIDS, and all their contiguous subterraneous *catacombs*, constituted one vast *cœmetery*, belonging to the seat of the *Memphian* kings[2], the various parts of which were constructed in different periods of time. Some learned writers, however, as *Shaw*, and the author of Philosophical Dissertations on the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*, have exercised their erudition in attempting to prove that the *Pyramids* were mythological repositories of *Egyptian* superstitions; and they have described the *Soros*, in direct opposition to *Strabo*, either as a *tomb of Osiris*[3], or as one of those κίστας ἱερὰς in which

(1) See the authorities and arguments stated by PERIZONIUS, *Origines Ægyptiacæ, cap.* 21. *p.* 393. *L. Bat.* 1711. Also GREAVES's *Pyramidographia, p.* 43. *Lond.* 1646, *&c. &c.*

(2) Τάφοι τῶν βασιλέων. *(Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1145. *Ed. Oxon.)* In the threatenings denounced against the *Israelites (Hosea, c.* ix. *v.*6.*)* it is said, "MEMPHIS SHALL BURY THEM."

(3) See PAUW *on the Egypt. and Chinese, vol.* II. *p.* 48. *Lond.* 1795.

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the Priests kept their sacred vestments[4]. Nor, perhaps, would these conjectures have appeared so visionary, if those distinguished writers had carried the investigation somewhat further. If the connection between antient *Egyptian* mythology and *Jewish* history had been duly traced, an evident analogy, founded upon events which have reference to the earliest annals of the *Hebrews*, might be made manifest. The subject, of itself sufficient to constitute a separate dissertation, would cause too much digression; although an endeavour may be made to concentrate some of its leading features within the compass of a note[5]. The main object

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(4) See *Shaw's* Travels, p. 871. *Lond.* 1757.

(5) Perhaps, with due attention to facts collected from antient and modern writers, the whole connection might be traced between the history of JOSEPH, and the *Egyptian* mythology founded thereon. For this purpose, the reader may be referred to all that *Vossius* has written upon the subject (*Vid. lib.* i. *cap.* 29. *tom.* I. *p.* 213. *de Theologiâ Gentili*: *Amst.* 1642), who considers the *Egyptian* APIS as a symbol of the *Patriarch*. He supports his opinion by authority from RUFFINUS (*Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, lib.* ii. *cap.* 33.); and derives evidence from AUGUSTIN, (*Script. Mirab. l.* i. *c.* 15.) to prove that the *Egyptians* placed *an Ox* near the sepulchre of JOSEPH. It appears also, from *Suidas* (*voce* Σάραπις), that APIS was by some considered a symbol of JOSEPH: "*Quo ut magis inclinem facit*," observes VOSSIUS, "*quòd Josephus Deuteronomii cap. penult. commate* 17, *bos vocetur, secundùm codices Hebræos.*" But if APIS were the same as JOSEPH, so must also be SERAPIS (or SARAPIS, as it was written by the *Greeks*) and OSIRIS; for these are but different names of the same mythological personage. "*Factus*

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at present is to prove the intention for which the *Pyramids* were erected; and in this, it is

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"*Factus est Joseph quasi rex totius Ægypti, et vocaverunt eum Apis,*" says *Kircher* (*Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 196. *Rom.* 1652); and he gives us from *Varro* the reason why he was called SERAPIS: "*Quia Arca* (*inquit Varr.*) *in quâ positus erat, Græcè seu Ægyptiacè dicitur Σορὸς, unde Σοράπις, quasi Arca Apis, deinde, unâ literâ mutatâ, Σίραπις dictus est.*" Also, according to *Strabo*, APIS was the same as OSIRIS. Ὃς ἐστιν (Ἄπις) ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Ὀσίρις (*lib.* xvii. *p.* 1144. *Ed. Oxon.*) Hence it may be inferred, that as JOSEPH, together with the names of APIS and SERAPIS, also bore that of OSIRIS, the annual mournings which took place in *Egypt* for the *loss of Osiris' body*, and the exhibition of an *empty Soros* upon those occasions, were ceremonies derived from the *loss of Joseph's body*, which had been carried away by the *Hebrews* when they left the country. *Julius Firmicus*, who flourished under the two sons of *Constantine*, endeavours to explain the reason (*De Error. Profan. Relig.*) why JOSEPH was called SERAPIS. In opposition to the origin assigned by *Varro*, for the name SERAPIS, it may be observed, that PLUTARCH (*De Isid. et Osir. c.* 29.) derides a notion which prevailed, maintaining that SERAPIS was no God, but a mere name for the sepulchral chest where the body of APIS was deposited: Οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΣΟΡΟΝ ὄντως ὑπολάβετε. But things which were rejected by the *Greeks*, as inconsistent with their religious opinions, may come much nearer, on this account, to truth, and to our own. A very popular notion has long been entertained, concerning an extraneous idol brought to *Alexandria*, by one of the *Ptolemies*, from the coast of PONTUS, which received the appellation of *Serapis* upon its arrival in *Egypt*. But the word *Serapis* is purely *Egyptian* (Vid. *Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 232. *Francf.* 1750); and there is something extremely improbable in the circumstances of the importation. That any of the *Ptolemies*, cooped as they were in *Egypt*, should insult the inhabitants of the country (*Macrobius Saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 7.) by the introduction of a strange Divinity from the EUXINE, has always worn an appearance of fable. *Jablonski* has refuted the opinion, by proving that *Serapis* was worshipped in *Memphis* long before the time of the PTOLEMIES (*Panth. Egypt. lib.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 233. *Francf.* 1750),

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hoped we may succeed. If these were the only monuments of the kind belonging to the

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1750), and by shewing from *Eustathius* that the whole story of this *Sinopic* Deity was derived from *Sinopium* near *Memphis*. Thus TACITUS, "*Sedem, ex quâ transierit (Serapis) Memphin perhibent, inclytam olim, et veteris Egypti columen.*" Yet *Gibbon* seems to imply (*Hist. c.* 28. *vol.* V. *p.* 90. *Lond.* 1807) that both the *name* and the *idol* were alike strangers to the priests of *Egypt;* and he sneers at the notion of *Vossius*, that the Patriarch JOSEPH had been adored in the country as the Bull *Apis*, and the God *Serapis*. (*Ibid. See Note* 36.) The reader may consult the learned observations of *Bochart* upon this subject (*Hierozoïcon, tom.* I. *l.* ii. *c.* 34. *pp.* 345, 346, 347, 348), and also of *Jablonski*, upon which *Gibbon* may have grounded his scepticism, although he have not mentioned his authors. The following passage of *Apollodorus*, as cited by *Bochart*, proves the name *Serapis* to be of antient date in EGYPT: "*Apis, relatus inter Deos*, SARAPIS *appellatus est.*" Upon the identity of *Serapis* and JOSEPH many learned writers are agreed. "*Sunt qui* APIM *et* SERAPIDEM *unum Numen putârint, et per Serapidem* JOSEPHUM *intellexerint;* NEC VERITATI CONTRARIA VIDETUR HÆC OPINIO." (*Cunæus de Repub. Heb. Annot. Nicolai, c.* 17. *not.* 14. *Thes. Antiq. Sac. Ugolini, Venet.* 1745.) Indeed, the number of authors and commentators by whom this opinion is maintained may be considered as more than a counterpoise to the objections of *Bochart* and of *Jablonski*. TIRINUS, (*Annot. in Sulpit. Sever. p.* 59. *Ed. Horn. L. Bat.* 1654.) in addition to the authorities above cited, mentions also *Pierius* and *Baronius:* and he further observes, "Idque patet, tum ex nomine *Serapis* quod Bovem notat; tum ex nomine *Arsaph*, quo teste Plutarcho, Osiris vocabatur, levi commutatione ex *Joseph* facta: tum ex Hieroglyphicis, quibus Osiridem designabant, puta figura bovis seu vituli, notis Lunæ et Solis insigniti: item juvenis imberbis cum modio et calatho in capite. Quæ in Josephum, ejusque boves et spicas, et ætatem, et astrologiæ peritiam, ad amussim quadrant. Subscribunt Clemens Alexandrinus, Augustinus, A Lapide, et Bonfrerius." See also *Spencer de Leg. Heb. lib.* iii. *pp.* 270, 271. *Beyer, Hen. VVeghorst. de Vero Dei Cultu, pag. m.* 25. *edit. Kilon.* 1671. *Michaël. Not. ad Gaffarell. Curiositates, edit. Hamburg. &c. &c.*

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antient world, and we had not the evidence afforded by the *Soros* in the principal PYRAMID, a greater degree of difficulty might oppose the undertaking. But, in addition to the testimony offered by this remarkable relic, we are enabled, by collateral evidences derived from other countries, to establish, beyond all controversy, the truth of their *sepulchral* origin. It has been already shewn, that, of themselves, they constitute but remaining traces of a custom common to all the nations of antiquity[1]. An antient *Tumulus* for men of princely rank seems very generally to have consisted of *three* parts; the SOROS, the PILE, or *Heap*, and the STÉLÉ. Of these, *Homer* mentions two at once; as being those parts of a *Tumulus* which were externally visible[2]. As the practice occasionally varied among different nations, only one of these was used to denote an antient burying-place. In ASIA MINOR, the *Soros*, of gigantic proportion, sometimes stood alone, without the *Pile* and the

(1) "Apud majores, nobiles, aut sub montibus, aut in montibus, sepeliebantur; unde natum est, ut *supra cadavera* aut Pyramides fierent, aut ingentes collocarentur columnæ." *Servii Comment. in Virgil.*

(2) Τύμβῳ τε, Στήλῃ τε. Il. π. 456. See *Greek Marbles*, p. 2. *Camb.* 1809.

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Stélé[3]. In SCYTHIA, and in many *Northern* countries, the *Pile* only appears[4]. In GREECE perhaps, although no instance is decidedly known, the simple *Stélé*, without the pile, might serve to denote the grave of a deceased person[5]. The *Pile*, or *Heap*, was generally nothing more than a lofty mound of earth. More rarely, it was a magnificent *pyramid*. A square platform was left, in some instances, upon the tops of those *pyramids*, as a pedestal for the *Stélé*. This seems to have been the case upon the summit of the principal PYRAMID of *Djïza*[6]. Hence originated the appellation of *Hermetic Stélæ* (because *Hermes* had the care of the dead), and all the *Grecian* Mythology connected with

Hermetic Stélæ.

(3) See the account of the sepulchres at *Telmessus*, in the former Section, Ch. VIII. Vol. III. 8vo. edition.

(4) See the *Vignette* to Chap. XI. Vol. I. 8vo. edition.

(5) Καὶ Στήλην ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, οἷα νεκρῷ. *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib.* v. *Oxon.* 1715. The great Column at *Alexandria*, called "*Pompey's Pillar*," may possibly be an example of the *Stélé*, standing *alone*; as will be shewn in a subsequent Chapter.

(6) *Vansleb* mentions marks of this kind, which he supposes were intended for a Colossus. "On remarque encore les enfonçures qui y sont, lesquelles servoient pour tenir ferme la base du Colosse qui y estoit posé." *Relation d'Egypte*, *p.* 141. *Paris*, 1677. It was in all probability a *Stélé*; but we did not perceive any such appearance; neither did *Pococke*, as he confesses, *p.* 43. *vol.* I. *Descript. of the East*, *Lond.* 1743.

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CHAP. V.

them[1]. In AMERICA, *pyramids* were built in this manner by the antient inhabitants of that great continent. That those *pyramids* were also *temples*, is true; because all antient *sepulchres* were objects of worship, and *tombs* were the origin of *temples*[2]. The *Spaniards*, when they first arrived in *Mexico*, found *pyramids* as *temples* there; but they were SEPULCHRES. *Gage* describes one of these[3]: "It was," says he, "a square mount of earth and stone, fifty fathoms long every way, built upwards like to a *pyramid* of *Egypt*, saving that the top was not sharp, but plain and flat, and ten fathoms square. Upon the west side were steps up to the top." By the account *Gemelli* gives[4] of the *Mexican Pyramids* at *Teotiguacan* (signifying, in the language of the country, a *Place of Gods*, or of *Adoration*), they were erected, like the EGYPTIAN PYRAMIDS, for *sepulchres*. The first he saw was a *Pyramid* of the *Moon*, about one

Mexican Pyramids.

(1) See Vol. III. of these Travels, p. 73. Octavo edit. A *dog* is often represented upon the sepulchral Stélæ, as a type of the *Egyptian* Mercury. This Deity appears upon *Egyptian* monuments, represented by a human figure with a *dog's head*.

(2) See Vol. II. of these Travels, p. 75. Octavo edit.

(3) Survey of the *West Indies*, Chap. XII. *Lond.* 1677.

(4) Travels, lib. ii. c. 8. Part 6.

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hundred and fifty feet in height. "It was made," he says, "of earth, in steps, like the *Pyramids* of *Egypt*;" and on the top of it was a great stone idol of the *Moon*. The *Pyramid* of the *Sun* was about forty feet higher, and upon the top of it a vast statue of the *Sun*: And as these *pyramids* were erected for devotion, so were they for *sepulchres*. The same author further informs us, that within the *Pyramid* of the *Moon* were vaults *where their kings were buried*, for which reason the road to them is called MICAOTLI, that is to say, *The Way of the Dead*. Precisely, too, after the manner in which the *Pyramids* of *Egypt* are surrounded by *sepulchres* of a more diminutive form, the *Mexican Pyramids* have, as *Gemelli* tells us, "about them, several little artificial mounts, supposed to be *burying-places* of lords." Another instance of a similar nature, and more remarkable for the similitude it bears to the principal *pyramid* of *Egypt*, was found in the same country, about thirty years ago, by some hunters. This is the great *Pyramid* of *Papantla*, mentioned by *Humboldt*; for, in this, *mortar may be discerned in the interstices between the stones*. It is an edifice of very high antiquity, and was always an object of veneration among the *Mexicans*. *Humboldt*

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says[1] "they concealed this monument, for centuries, from the *Spaniards*;" and that it was discovered accidentally, in the manner that has been mentioned.

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(1) Travels in *New Spain*, vol. II. p. 259.

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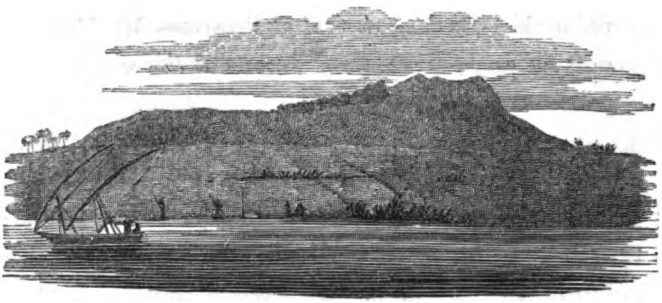

Antient Peribolus of Saïs, *formed by High Mounds of Earth, as seen from the* Nile.

CHAP. VI.

GRAND CAIRO TO ROSETTA.

Monastery of the Propagandists — *Marriage Procession*— *Visit to the* Reis Effendi—*First Intelligence concerning the* Alexandrian Soros—*Preparation for Departure*— *Arrival of the Covering for the* Caaba *at* Mecca— *Escape of four Ladies* — *Passage down the* Nile— *Chemical Analysis of the Water and Mud of the River* — *Remains of the City of* Saïs — *Antiquities*— *Bronze Relics*—*Aratriform Sceptre of the Priests and Kings of* Egypt — *Hieroglyphic Tablet* — *Enumeration of the Archetypes*—*Curious Torso of an antient Statue* —*Triple Hierogram with the Symbol of the* Cross—*its meaning explained* — Mahallet Abouali — Berinbal — *Ovens for hatching Chickens* — *Tombs at* Massora Shibrecki

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Shibrecki—*Birds*—*Arrival at* Rosetta—*Mr.* Hammer *sails for* England—*State of* Rosetta *at this season of the year.*

CHAP. VI.

Monastery of the *Propagandists.*

AFTER our return to CAÏRO, we visited the library of the *Propaganda* Society, in a monastery belonging to the Missionaries, and found a collection of books as little worth notice as that of the Franciscans at *Jerusalem*. It consisted wholly of obscure writings on points of faith, the volumes being mixed together in a confused manner. From their appearance, it was evident they had not been opened by their present possessors. We were shewn some drawings of the *Costumi* of *Caïro*, which had been made by one of the Monks, very ill done, but worth seeing, as they contained a representation of every thing remarkable in the manner of the inhabitants of this city. The church belonging to the convent is kept in very neat order. The *Copts* have a place allowed them for baptism, near to the altar. The *Coptic* language is now preserved only in their manuscripts. We purchased a folio manuscript copy of the Gospels, finely written, which had the *Arabic* on one side, and the *Coptic* on the other. In the *Coptic* service of the church, the prayers are read in

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Arabic, and the gospels in *Coptic*. BROWNE, who has written the best account of *Cairo*, computes the number of its mosques at more than three hundred, and the total population of the city as equal to three hundred thousand souls[1].

Marriage Procession

In our road to the *English* head-quarters, from the convent of the *Propagandists*, we met a marriage procession. First came a person bearing a box, looking like the kind of show which is carried about the streets of *London*, covered with gilding and ornaments. The use of this we could not learn. Next followed two boys, superbly dressed, and mounted on very fine horses richly caparisoned. Two grooms were in attendance upon each of these horses. Then followed a great number of men, on foot. After these came the bride, beneath a canopy supported by four men, and preceded by a female attendant, who, as she walked, continued to fan her with one of the large semicircular fans of the country, made of differently coloured feathers. The bride was entirely covered by a veil of scarlet crape, spangled from head to foot: she was supported on each side by a

(1) *Travels in Africa, p.* 71. *Lond.* 1799. The reader, wishing for a further statistical detail, may be referred to the volume published by this faithful, intelligent, and most enterprising traveller.

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female, veiled, according to the common costume of the country. Then followed a band of musicians, playing upon hautboys and tambours. After the musicians, came a party of *Almehs*, screaming the *Alleluia*, as before described. The procession closed with a concourse of people of all descriptions.

Visit to the *Reis Effendi*.

On Monday, *August* the thirty-first, we were on a visit to the *Reis Effendi*, a minister of the *Turkish* government, holding a situation which answers to the office of our Secretary of State. Two of the principal officers in the *Turkish* army were sitting with them. The garden belonging to this house was that in which *Kleber* was assassinated. While we were conversing with the *Reis*, a *Tahtar* came into the room, saying, in the *Turkish* language, "*Alexandria is taken!*" Mr. *Hammer*, who was with us, interpreted what the *Tahtar* had said. To our great amazement, these *Turkish* officers received this important intelligence in total silence, without the slightest change of countenance, or even a look towards each other. Mr. *Hammer* said, he believed they did not wish the people of *Cairo* to know that the *English* were the captors. After a few minutes thus passed in silence and gravity, they began to whisper to each other, and then wrote

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with a reed the name of the *Tahtar* who brought the news. Afterwards, addressing us, the *Reis* asked if we had understood what the *Tahtar* had said. We answered in the affirmative. "I do not," said he, "place much faith in the news; but I will send to the *Vizier*, and inquire if he has received any despatches." Having done this, an answer came, stating that *Alexandria* was not taken; but that an armistice had taken place, and that the *French* were in treaty for the surrender of the city. With this welcome information we took our leave, and determined instantly to hasten to the *British* camp, and to make Lord *Hutchinson* acquainted with some particulars that had come to our knowledge respecting the antiquities collected by the *French* in *Egypt*, all of which we knew to be deposited in *Alexandria*.

Previous to our departure, it was necessary to collect as much additional information as possible, and especially with regard to the *Rosetta Tablet*[1]; as there is no doubt but every artifice would be used to prevent our

(1) See the account given of the discovery by *Bouchard*, Vol. IV. of these Travels, Ch. I. p. 7. Note (3).

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Commander-in-chief from becoming acquainted with the place of its concealment. A report had already been industriously circulated, that this stone had been sent to *France*. We therefore waited upon the only person capable of furthering our views in this respect, and whose name it is no longer necessary to conceal[1]. This person was no other than the intelligent *Carlo Rosetti*, whose inquisitive mind and situation in the country had enabled him to become acquainted with every thing belonging to the *French* army. In the course of a conversation with him on the subject of the *Rosetta Stone*, which he maintained to be still in *Alexandria*, he informed the author, that something even of a more precious nature was contained among the *French* plunder: that they had removed, by force, a *relic* long held in veneration among the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, after every entreaty had failed for that effect; and that they entertained considerable apprehension lest any intelligence concerning it should reach the *English* army: that *Menou*, and some other of his officers, had used every precaution to prevent the people of *Alexandria* from divulging the place of its

First Intelligence of the *Alexandrian* Soros.

(1) See "*Tomb of Alexander*," p. 81.

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concealment, before it could be conveyed beyond the reach of our forces. CHAP. VI.

Signor *Rosetti's* remote situation with regard to *Alexandria* prevented his giving a more explicit account of this monument, and of the place where it originally stood. It was, he said, of one entire piece of stone, of an astonishing size, and of a beautiful *green* colour: the *French* had taken it from some *mosque*, where it had been long venerated by the *Arabs:* and he ended by giving us a letter addressed to one of the principal merchants in *Alexandria*, who, upon our arrival in that city, would communicate any other information we might require upon this subject.

Preparation for Departure from *Cairo*.

The following day was passed in taking leave of our friends, and in preparation for our departure. We had another audience of the *Vizier*, who made several inquiries concerning the *Pyramids*, and very kindly asked if there were any thing else in *Caïro*, or in its neighbourhood, which we might wish to see. He then added a few questions respecting the *embalmed birds* found at *Saccára;* requesting, at the same time, that we would send him one of these birds. This very rare curiosity in a *Turk* surprised us;

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for, in general, nothing can exceed either their ignorance or their indifference, as to literary intelligence. We sent him one of the jars which contain the *Ibis*, unopened; and another with the lid removed and the interior visible, that he might examine its contents, if he wished to preserve the other vessel as it was found. When we rose to take leave, the attendants presented each of us with an embroidered handkerchief, according to the usual custom in the *East*.

Arrival of the Covering for the *Caaba* at Mecca.

This day the tapestry destined for the covering of the *Caaba* at *Mecca* arrived from *Constantinople*, by the way of *Syria*. We were desirous of seeing the entry into *Caïro* of the cavalcade by which it is accompanied, but found it to be impossible, from the extreme danger attending it. Mr. *Hammer*, although in the *Arabian* dress, dared not to venture into the fanatical and furious mob that had assembled upon the outside of the city. The people ran from every house and corner of *Caïro*, to greet its coming; and happy was the *Moslem* who could get near enough to kiss a part of the trappings, or even the tail of the camel by which it was carried. After parading it through the principal streets, it was taken to the *Citadel*, to be kept until the great Caravan of Pilgrims

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began its march to MECCA. Every house in *Caïro*, upon this occasion, displayed the most gaudy hangings; but the principal colours were blue, scarlet, crimson, and yellow. The whole city was one scene of festivity. In several houses we saw a figure made up of wool or cotton, to resemble a sheep, but could not learn for what purpose it was so placed. CHAP. VI.

On Wednesday, *September* the second, at twelve o'clock, we set out from *Caïro*, passing along the Canal in our *djerm*, and having on board four ladies, recommended to us for protection by the *Propaganda Missionaries*. Mr. *Hammer* was also on board, and rendered us great service in this dangerous undertaking, by being in his *Oriental* habit. We placed the women in our cabin, concealed by lattice-work and boughs, Mr. *Hammer* and the rest of our party standing before the entrance. The banks of the canal were covered by *Galeongies* and *Turkish* troops, carousing, and discharging their *tophaikes*. Had they only suspected the presence of females in our boat, the consequences would have been dangerous to us; but the lives of these ladies depended upon the success of the plan adopted for their escape; many women being daily sacrificed by the *Turks*, in conse- Escape of Four Ladies.

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quence of having been married to, or having been with *Frenchmen*. In order to avoid being searched, or giving rise to suspicion, we had chosen the most public time of the day for passing the canal. Our *Arab* boatmen had promised their assistance, and they were very faithful. When we entered the boat, we believed, from their appearance, that our passengers were old women. They sat muffled up, and completely concealed by coarse and thick veils, which covered not only their faces but their persons. When we had cleared the canal, and reached the open channel of the river, they took off their veils, and we were surprised to find that they were all young. One of them was very beautiful; she had been married about four years before; but her husband dying of the plague, during the last summer, had left her a widow. They accompanied us as far as *Bulac;* when meeting with two of the *Propagandists* who had assisted their escape from *Cairo,* and being unable, from the small size of our *djerm,* to offer them suitable means of conveyance for their passage to *Rosetta,* we engaged the cabin of a large barge preparing to descend the *Nile,* where, secluded from the observation of the other passengers, they might have secure and convenient accommodation.

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Upon our arrival at *Bulac*, we met Lord *Hutchinson's* brother upon the quay, and two other *English* officers, who had just arrived with despatches for the *Grand Vizier*, containing news of the capitulation then pending between our Commander-in-chief and General *Menou*, for the surrender of ALEXANDRIA. As they were unable to speak the language of the country, we sent our interpreter to hire a party of *Arabs* to conduct them to the *English* head-quarters in *Cairo*.

Passage down the *Nile*.

At six o'clock P. M. we embarked again, and, having lowered the sails, committed our *djerm* to the rapidity of the river. Its course might rather be described as a torrent than as a current. Although a strong contrary wind prevailed during the whole of our voyage down the *Nile*, we descended with even greater rapidity than we had sailed in coming from *Rosetta*. The water in the *Nilometer* of *Rhouda* had risen nine feet during the month of *August:* at this time it wanted only two inches of elevation to cover entirely the whole of the *Corinthian* column on which the height of the inundation is measured, and it was expected to rise yet for twenty days. The great heats had evidently subsided; although the mercury in *Fahrenheit's*

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thermometer, this day at noon, stood at ninety degrees.

As we left *Bulac*, we had one of the finest prospects in the world, presented by the wide surface of the *Nile* crowded with vessels, the whole city of *Caïro*, the busy throng of shipping at the quay, the *Citadel* and heights of *Mokatam*, the distant *Saïd*, the *Pyramids of Djïza* and of *Saccára*, the *Obelisk of Heliopolis*, and the *Tombs of the Sultans*; all these were in view at the same time; the greater objects being tinged with the most brilliant effect of light it is possible to conceive; while the noise of the waters, the shouts of the boatmen, and the moving picture everywhere offered by the *Nile*, gave a cheerful contrast to the stillness of the *Desert*, and the stedfast majesty of monuments, beautifully described by a classic bard as "looking tranquillity." We continued our progress during the evening and the whole of the night. The next morning, *September* the third, we found ourselves at *Terané*, and went on shore to procure a little milk for our breakfast. Here we filled two large earthen jars with *Nile* water; and having rendered them air-tight, we luted them carefully with the *mud* of the *Nile*: then placing them in wooden cases, we filled all the vacant

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spaces with the same substance. The *mud* soon became dry, and very hard; thus preserving the jars from the danger of being broken by any shock which the cases containing them might sustain; and also, by the total exclusion of atmospheric air, preventing any change from taking place in the chemical constituents of the water. In this state they were sent, one to the University of *Cambridge*, and another to Professor *Jacquin* at *Vienna*. It is not yet known what chemical union takes place in *Nile* water, when the addition of pounded almonds causes it to precipitate the substances it holds in a state of imperfect solution: this is the common mode adopted in *Egypt* for clarifying the water. The only result we have been able to obtain, from the most careful chemical analysis of the *Nile* water, proves it to contain the *carbonates* of *Magnesia*, *Lime*, and *Iron*; the *Muriat* of *Soda*; and a small portion of *Silex* and *Alumine*. But it is one of the purest waters known; remarkable for its easy digestion by the stomach, and for its salutary qualities in all the uses to which it is applied[1]. The *mud*, or slime, left by this

Chemical Analysis of the *Water* and *Mud* of the *River*.

(1) "L'eau du Nil jouit d'une grand pureté: cette qualité la rend bien précieuse, non seulement pour la préparation des alimens, mais encore pous les arts chymiques où elle peut remplacer l'eau de pluie dont ce pays est privé, et l'eau distillée." *La Décade Egyptienne, tom.* I. *p.* 266. *Au Kaire, An* 7.

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water is found to consist principally of *Alumine* in a state of great purity: it contains nearly half its weight of this substance; the rest is *carbonate* of *Lime*, *Water*, *Carbon*, *Iron* oxide, *Silex*, and *carbonate* of *Magnesia*. The persons concerned in agriculture, in *Egypt*, regard it as a sufficient manure, without any addition of dung[1]: this they reserve for other purposes, and principally for fuel.

Remains of the City of Saïs.

Having received information, from some *Bedouin Arabs* inhabiting the *Delta*, of *Ruins* on the spot marked by *D'Anville* as the situation of the antient City of Saïs, we determined to visit them. They are near to the village now called *Sé'l Hajar*, or *Sé el Hajar* : this name, literally translated, may signify "*The antient Saïs.*" These *Ruins* were not observed by the *French* during their residence in *Egypt:* they seem to have been igno ant even of their

(1) "Agri ita pingue fiunt, ut stercoratione non egeant." *(Prosper Alpinus.) Voy. Décade Egypt. tom.* I. *p.* 219.

(2) Mr. *Hamilton*, perhaps more judiciously, writes the name of this place *Sá-el-Haggar. (See Ægyptiaca, p.* 360. *Lond.* 1809.) It has been here written as nearly as possible to the manner in which the name is pronounced upon the spot. But the *Arabs* make one word of it; as *Selhajar;* and some of them seemed to call it *Silhajar*. *Egmont* and *Heyman* (*vol.* II. *p.* 113. *Lond.* 1759.) wrote it *Sa el Hajer.*

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existence[3]. The first notice of them by *Europeans* occurs in the Travels of *Egmont* and *Heyman*[4]; and Mr. *Bryant* refers to the account given by those *Dutchmen*, in his observations upon the locality of *Zoan*[5]. The situation of *Sé'l Hajar* is not laid down in any modern map; but our boatmen were acquainted with it, and they informed us that we should not reach it before midnight. We therefore ordered them to anchor as soon as they came near to the village, and to remain there until day-light. The velocity with which we proceeded against a violent *north-west* wind quite astonished us. Our boat lay upon the water with her broadside to the current, and was generally held in this position by the crew; but sometimes she was suffered to float as the stream carried her, turning about in all possible directions.

The next morning, *Friday*, *September* the fourth, being told by our boatmen that we were close in with *Sé'l Hajar*, we rose a little

(3) See *Denon's* account of the observations made by the *French* in *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*.

(4) Travels through Part of *Europe*, *Asia Minor*, &c. Vol. II. p. 111. *Lond.* 1759.

(5) See Observations relating to various Parts of Antient History, by *Jacob Bryant*, p. 312. *Camb.* 1767.

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before day-light, to take a hasty breakfast, and set out for the *Ruins*. As soon as the dawn appeared, we landed upon the eastern side of the river, a little to the south of *Rachmanie;* near to the place where a canal, passing across the *Delta,* joins the *Damietta* with the *Rosetta* branch of the NILE. About half a mile from the shore we came to the village of *Sé'l Hajar,* and found the *Arab* peasants already at their work. They were employed in sifting soil to lay upon their corn land, among evident remains of antient buildings. The present village of *Sé'l Hajar* seems to be situate in the suburban district of the antient city; for as we proceeded hence, in an *eastern* direction, we soon discerned its vestiges. Irregular heaps, containing ruined foundations which had defied the labours of the peasants, appeared between the village and some more considerable remains farther towards the *north-east.* The earth was covered with fragments of antient *terra cotta,* which the labourers had cast out of their sieves. At the distance of about three furlongs, we came to an immense quadrangular inclosure, nearly a mile wide, formed by high walls or rather mounds of earth, facing the four points of the compass, and placed at right angles to each other, so as to surround a spacious area. In the centre of this

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was another conical heap, supporting the ruins of some building, whose original form cannot now be ascertained. The ramparts of this inclosure are indeed so lofty, as to be visible from the river; although at this distance the irregularity of their appearance might cause a person ignorant of their real nature to mistake them for natural eminences [1]. In their present appearance, they seem to correspond with the account given of a similar inclosure at *San*, or TANIS [2],

(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

(2) It may be proper to mention, that the learned *Jacob Bryant*, in his dissertation upon the situation of ZOAN, distinguishes this city from *Tanis*, and confounds it with HELIOPOLIS: *(See Observations relating to various Parts of Antient History, p.* 301. *Camb.* 1767.) Until M. *Larcher* shall have written his promised dissertation upon the two cities which bore the name of *Heliopolis*, and better evidence be given for the notion of a *Pseudo-Heliopolis* upon the *Arabian* side of the *Nile*, the following localities will be here assigned for the three cities, *Sais*, *Tanis*, and *Heliopolis*:—for the first, *Sá'l Hajar*; for the second, *San*; for the third, *Matarieh*. M. *Larcher's* doubts upon this subject are so closely allied to the following remarks made by *Bryant*, that it is impossible to believe they had not a common origin: indeed, the *French* writer seems almost to have literally translated *Bryant's* words. "There were two cities named Heliopolis; OF WHICH I SHALL HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO SAY HEREAFTER. * * * * * This is a circumstance that has escaped the notice, not only of all the moderns, but of most of the Antients." *(See Bryant, Observat. &c. p.* 82. *Note* 2. *Camb.* 1767.) "Il y avoit deux villes," says *Larcher*, "de ce nom *(Heliopolis)*. * * * * * Ceci auroit besoin d' être appuyé de preuves, mais comme cela exigeroit une dissertation fort longue, JE LE FERAI PROBABLEMENT DANS UNE MEMOIRE A PART. *Table Géographique de l'Histoire d'Hérodote, pp.* 171, 172. *Paris*, 1786.

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by a friend of our party, who visited the *Pyramids* with us, and who was engaged in a voyage down the *Nile* at the time we were employed among the *Ruins* of Saïs[1]. The water of the river, in consequence of the inundation, had obtained access to this inclosure, so as to form a small lake around the conical heap of ruins which stood in the middle of the area. Perhaps it was thus admitted in antient times; as the vast rampart of the inclosure, both in its bulk and elevation, render it well calculated to contain water. The description given by *Herodotus* of a *sepulchre*[2] at Saïs is so applicable to the general appearance of this place, that perhaps the evidence it affords may be deemed almost conclusive as to the locality of the city.

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(1) *William Hamilton*, Esq. F.A.S. one of his Majesty's Under-Secretaries of State, author of "*Remarks on several Parts of Turkey*," of which only *Part the First*, under the title of *Ægyptiaca*, has yet appeared. It is to be hoped that Mr. *Hamilton*'s other important avocations will not prevent the continuation of this valuable work. For his account of the situation of *Sais*, and the present appearance of its ruins, see *Ægyptiaca*, *p.* 382. *Lond.* 1809. A Map of their Topography, and a Plan of the Ruins, as they were discovered by the *French*, are given in Plate XVII of *Denon*'s large work. In the same Plate may be seen also a Plan of an Inclosure and Ruins near *Beibeth*, which exactly represents the present appearance of the inclosure at Saïs.

(2) Herodot. *Euterpe*, c. 170. *Herodotus* says he was not permitted to name the person to whom this sepulchre belonged.

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He says it stood within the *sacred inclosure*, behind the temple of *Minerva*; mentioning also *a shrine*[3], in which were *obelisks*; and near to those obelisks *a lake*, flanked with stone, equal in size to the *Lake Trochoïs* at *Delos*. But the form of the lake, according to him, was circular. *Nocturnal* solemnities were exhibited upon it, according to a custom still kept up at *Grand Caïro*, at the overflowing of the *Nile*. The solemnities of *Minerva* at SAÏS were reckoned to hold the third rank in importance among all the festivals of *Egypt*[4]. It was the metropolis of *Lower Egypt*[5]; and its inhabitants were originally an *Athenian* colony. *Egmont* and *Heyman* found here a very curious Inscription[6] in honour of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, ITS BENEFACTOR, certain of whose titles are given[7]:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ-

(3) Πίμπλης. *Euterpe*, c. 170.

(4) *Herodot. ibid.* c. 169. The principal solemnities were held at *Bubastus*, in honour of *Diana*. Those of *Busiris*, in honour of *Isis*, held the second rank. *Minerva* was worshipped at *Saïs* under the name of *Neith*, according to *Plato* and *Plutarch*.

(5) Καὶ ἡ Σάϊς μητρόπολις τῆς πάσης χώρης. *Strabon. Geogr. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1137. *ed. Oxon.*

(6) *Egmont* and *Heyman*'s Travels, vol. II. p. 112. *Lond.* 1759.

(7) As this *Inscription* is the only one which has been found by the moderns at Saïs, in any legible characters; and is, moreover, materially connected with the history of the city; and as the work which contains

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ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΜΗΝΙΑΚΟΝΜΗΔΙΚΟΝ
ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ
ΗΠΟΛΙΣΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

They saw also the colossal statue of a female, with hieroglyphics, the head of which had been broken off and removed to *Caïro*. Fourteen camel-loads of treasure were said to have been found among the Ruins. Our inquiry after antiquities was, however, for a long time unsuccessful; and we began to despair of carrying from *Saïs* any thing belonging to the antient city, excepting our description of the place, and a slight sketch of the inclosure, as seen

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contains it is now become rare; the author hopes its repetition here will not be deemed superfluous.—Another *Inscription*, of much greater celebrity, is preserved by PLUTARCH (*De Isid. et Osir. c.* 9.), as it existed upon the pedestal of *Minerva's* statue at SAÏS. *Kircher* has attempted to shew the manner in which it was engraven. It was, in all probability, written in the Sacred characters; but, if it were a *Greek* inscription, it might, from its antiquity and the number of the letters, have stood in the following order:

ΕΓΩΕΙΜΙΠΑΝΤΟΓΕΓ
ΟΝΟΣΚΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΕΣΟ
ΜΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΕΜΟΝ
ΠΕΠΛΟΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΠΩΘ
ΝΗΤΟΣΑΠΕΚΑΛΥΨΕΝ

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from the river[1]. The *French* had so often stripped and terrified the inhabitants of other parts of the *Delta*, that, although *Saïs* had hitherto escaped their visitation, the mere coming of strangers filled the *Arabs* with distrust and alarm. However, the sight of a few newly-coined *paras* presently subdued their apprehensions, and we were surrounded by men, women, and children, bringing, as at *Saccára*, a number of curious antiquities. Among these were various fragments of antient sculpture, formed of *dark grey Granite*, of *Horblende Porphyry*[2], and of the sort of *Trap* which *Winkelmann*[3] and others[4] have called *green basaltes*. This last substance has been described as one of the hardiest materials of antient art: it is certainly one of the most durable, for the works executed

(1) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

(2) This substance is the *Nér' e bianco* of the *Italian* lapidaries (*See Ferber's Trav. in Italy, p.* 217. *Lond.* 1776.) It consists of white opaque crystals of *Feldspar*, which owe their colour to decomposition, imbedded in black *Hornblende*. The word *Porphyry* may now be used to denote any compound mineral containing crystals of *Feldspar*. Thus we have, *Hornblende* Porphyry, *Pitchstone* Porphyry, *Serpentine* Porphyry, &c. &c.

(3) Œuvres de *Winkelmann*, tom. I. p. 168. *Paris*, An 2 de la République.

(4) "*Basaltes Orientalis viridis.*" (*Ferber, ubi supra, p.* 233.) "Extremely hard, homogeneous, and compact, without any crystallizations."

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Bronze Relics.

in it retain their original polish as perfect as when they issued from the hands of the sculptor. We procured also a number of *bronze* relics. From the state of decomposition in which these appeared, as well as from the circumstances of their form, they seemed to be of high antiquity. The *bronze* itself has since been analyzed, and is found to consist of *copper*, with twelve *per cent.* of *tin*; a compound common to almost all the bronze works of the Antients. We bought of the peasants a *bronze* tripod, originally intended for a lamp; also a small *bronze* bust of PTHA, the *Ægyptian Vulcan*[1]. Perhaps this last was originally an antient weight. Its very great antiquity may be determined by the shape of the *wings*, which are curved upwards from the back of the figure. This peculiarity is found only in the works of artists belonging to the earliest ages, as we learn from the sculpture and coinage of *Greece*, particularly of *Corinth*. They brought also a *bronze* image of ORUS, formerly worn as an amulet, together with a number of *Lares* and other *amulets*, similar to those already described in the account of the antiquities found at

(1) See Nos. 1 and 2, of Plate annexed.

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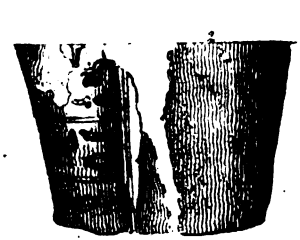

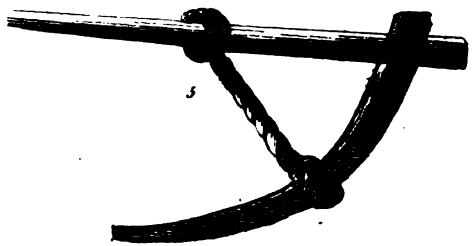

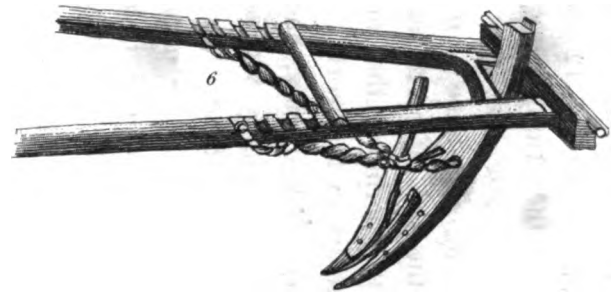

R B Harraden del.

Lewis Byrne Sculp.

ANTIQUITIES found at SAIS.

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Saccára. One of the former, in the shape of a Mummy, similar to *Nos.* 12 and 13, in the Plate representing the Antiquities found at *Saccára*, but of larger size, deserves more particular notice[2]. The substance of it is porcelain, resembling the sort of earthenware called *Delft*; and it offers, perhaps, the most antient specimen of the art in the world. The interior exhibits a pale baked clay, and the exterior is covered with a highly vitrified varnish. The lower part of the figure has been broken off near the feet; but all the upper part is entire. It has a long narrow beard, hanging from the extremity of the chin; and below the breast are five lines of an *hieroglyphical* inscription. The hands are crossed upon the breast; sustaining against either shoulder such perfect models of the symbol which *Kircher* has denominated *Hieralpha*[3], that it is impossible we can remain any longer in doubt respecting its real signification. The subject has been before alluded to[4]; but something may yet be added for its illustration; for, in fact, it is here rendered more evident than an antient *plough* was the archetype of an

Aratriform Sceptre.

(2) See Nos. 3, 4, of Plate annexed.

(3) See A, B, of No. 3.

(4) See Chap. IV. of this volume, p. 154, et seq.

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Egyptian character, common in hieroglyphic writing. Upon this figure the entire model of the instrument is complete; and even the twisted cordage, binding the plough-share to the handle, is distinctly represented [1]. But, in order to remove all remaining doubt concerning this symbol, we perceive in the left hand of the figure a stouter cord [2], from which is suspended *a harrow* hanging behind the left shoulder [3]. We see clearly, therefore, the kind of instrument mentioned by *Diodorus* [4], who says the priests and kings of *Egypt* bore a sceptre in the form of *a plough.* An instrument of this kind was said to be in use among the *Celtic* tribes [5]. The inhabitants of *St. Kilda,* in the *Hebrides,* use it as a sort of *spade,* or *hand-plough.* But in the north of *Sweden* and *Finland,* a different race of men use *a plough* of the same form, upon a larger scale: it is there drawn by cattle; and

(1) See *m*, *n*, of No. 3, in the Plate annexed.—In the beautiful designs by *Roncalli*, of the OBELISCUS CAMPENSIS, engraved by *Antonini*, for *Zoega's* work "*De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum,*" published at *Rome* in 1797, the delineation of this symbol, as a *plough*, is so distinct, that even the rings attached to the cordage are visible. *See* No. 5 *of the Plate, as copied from that work.*

(2) See *x*, *x*, of Nos. 3. and 4.

(3) See *z*, of No. 4.

(4) *Diodor. Sic. lib.* iv.

(5) See p. 156 of this Volume.

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it is further distinguished by having a *double*, instead of a *single* plough-share. *Linnæus* first observed this very antient model of the *plough*, during his travels in his native country; and a representation of the *Finland plough* has been here introduced, as it was copied from one of his drawings [6]. This curious relic therefore preserves a model of one of the most antient instruments of agriculture known in the world [7]; the primeval *plough* of *Egypt*, and of the *Eastern* world; held in veneration from the earliest ages, and among all nations; considered as a sacred symbol; an emblem of power and dignity; a sceptre fit for *kings*, and even *Gods*, to

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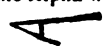
(6) See No. 6 of the preceding Plate.

(7) *Osiris* is said to have constructed his own plough. *Tibullus* (*lib.* i. *eleg.* 7.) makes him the first husbandman. There were two methods of using the very simple instrument here represented; one being the more antient, but the shape of the plough remaining the same; which was that of an *Alpha*, with one side shorter than the other. As a *hand-plough*, the vertex was capped with brass or iron, which the husbandman forced into the ground with his foot. It was then held in this position, and in this manner it is now used by the natives of *St. Kilda*. When used as a *draft-plough*, which must have been suggested by the improvement of a later age, the shorter *limb* of the Alpha was tipped with metal, and it was then held in this position,  as it is now used by the inhabitants of *Ostro-Bothnia*. The *hand-plough* was of course the antient sceptre; not only on account of its antiquity, but as being the only *portable* instrument.

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wear[1]; a type of Nature's bounty, and of peace on earth[2]. To this veneration of the *plough* may be referred all the mysteries of *Ceres*, and many of the most sacred solemnities, the rites and the festivals, of *Egypt* and of *Greece*. Such is the explanation of *Kircher's Hieralpha*, in a *symbolical* view. That, as an *archetype*, it subsequently gave birth to an *alphabetical sign*, which was introduced among the characters used in *Egyptian* writing, is very probable; for a gradual change from the pictured forms of visible objects to written types, is manifest to any one who will give himself the trouble to collect and to compare the various modifications which the *hieroglyphics* have sustained[3].

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(1) "In antient times, the *sacred plough* employ'd
The Kings, and awful fathers of mankind." *Thomson.*

(2) "And they shall beat their swords into plough-shares." *Isa.* ii. 4.

(3) Mr. *Hamilton*'s observations upon the rolls of *Papyrus* which are found in the Mummies of the *Thebaïd* confirm this opinion, in a remarkable manner.—"Of the four," says he, "which I brought to England, one is in the British Museum; another in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries: the other two are but fragments; one of them written in the common *Egyptic* character, that of the other approaching much more to the *hieroglyphical* mode of writing.

"This circumstance had first induced me to consider, in a Memoir submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, the vulgar character, or ἐγχώρια γράμματα, of antient Egypt, as *having derived its origin from the picture-writing of earlier ages*: and I am further inclined to that opinion

Having by this time gained the confidence and good-will of the *Arabs*, we might have extended our researches by making an excavation within the *antient inclosure*, if our time had not been limited. They told us, that it was their frequent practice, when they dug up stones with *hieroglyphic* figures, to bury them again. And were this not true, it is very improbable that all the colossal works which once adorned the city of SAÏS have been removed or destroyed. From the account given of them by *Herodotus*, we may conclude that subsequent generations were unable to carry off such stupendous masses of stone, for nothing less than gunpowder would have been equal to their demolition. *Amasis* constructed at SAÏS a *propylæum* in honour of *Minerva*, which in magni-

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opinion by the observation of many peculiarities in which they still resemble; these resemblances becoming more and more distant, *in proportion to the remoteness of the period of such writings from the original institution of their hieroglyphical archetype.* In some rolls of Papyrus, almost every letter bears a faint resemblance to some visible object, as an eye, bird, serpent, knife, &c.; whereas in others it is very difficult to trace it: and at the date of the Inscription on the Rosetta Stone, the copy seems so much to have degenerated from the original, as to leave no means whatever of forming a comparison between the two: and we know that there are instances of both characters being applied to the same use; some few rolls of Papyrus having already been published, written in what is called the Sacred Character." See *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 407. Lond.* 1809.

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tude and grandeur surpassed every thing before seen, of such enormous size were the stones employed in the building and in its foundation. *Herodotus*, enumerating the decorations given by *Amasis* to this edifice, mentions colossal statues of prodigious magnitude, under the appellation of *Androsphinges*[1]. A statue of this kind was discovered soon after we left *Egypt*[2]. But the most surprising work at Saïs was a *monolithal* shrine[3], brought from *Upper Egypt*; in the conveyance of which, from *Elephantine*, two thousand persons were employed, during three years[4]. A celebrated colossus, given by *Amasis* to the *temple of Vulcan* at *Memphis*, had also its duplicate at *Saïs*, of the same size, and in the same attitude[5]. Within the *sacred inclosure* were

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(1) Τοῦτο δὲ, κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ 'ΑΝΔΡΟΣΦΙΓΓΑΣ τετραπήχεας ἐνίδρυσε. "Quinetiam ingentes colossos, et immanes ANDROSPHINGAS, ibidem posuit." *Herodot. Euterpe*, c. 175. *Ed. Galei.*

(2) See *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, *p.* 382. *Lond.* 1809.

(3) Count *Caylus* wrote a dissertation upon this extraordinary structure. *Voy. Mém. de l'Académie, &c. tom.* xxxi. *Hist. p.* 23.

(4) *Herodot. Euterpe*, *c.* 175.

(5) Ibid. c. 176. The *colossal hand* of granite, which is now in the *British* Museum, was found by the *French* upon the site of antient *Memphis*, between *Djîza* and *Saccâra*, and believed by them to have belonged to one of the statues mentioned by *Herodotus*, as being near the *Temple of Vulcan*.

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buried the sovereigns of the *Saïtic* dynasty[6]; and it may be supposed that the ransacking of such a cœmetery would lead to the discovery of many curious antiquities, and even give probability to the narrative related by the inhabitants of *Sé'l Hajar* to *Egmont* and *Heyman*[7], concerning the camel-loads of treasure which were found upon the spot. Our next inquiry was directed towards the *mosque;* suspecting that, in the materials employed for this building, something more might come to light. After a slight hesitation, they also granted us permission to carry on our researches here, and admitted us to view the interior of the structure. The fragments of some antient columns appeared in the walls; and in the steps, before the entrance, we noticed a large slab of polished *Syenite.* Having with some difficulty extricated and turned the stone, we found it to be the base or pedestal of one of those upright statues which seem to correspond with the notion entertained of the *Androsphinxes* mentioned by *Herodotus;* although it does not answer in its size to the proportion necessary for the colossal figures

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Hieroglyphic Tablet.

(6) *Herodot.* ibid. c. 169. For an account of this dynasty, see *Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* i. *c.* 10. *p.* 97. *Rom.* 1652.

(7) See *Egmont* and *Heyman*'s Travels, vol. II. p. 112. *Lond.* 1759.

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alluded to by the historian. It is now in the Vestibule of the University Library at *Cambridge*[1]. One foot only belonging to the statue now remains upon this pedestal. What renders it peculiarly interesting is, that it exhibits, among the characters of an *hieroglyphic* tablet which is quite entire, a perfect representation of the *Ibis*. The other signs are also such accurate figures of visible objects, that almost all their archetypes may be enumerated; either by comparing them with things found among barbarous nations; or with natural phænomena; or with existing antiquities; or by explaining the ideas they are intended to convey, according to facts derived from the study of antiquities in general. That the Reader may therefore compare a few observations upon this subject with an engraved representation of these *hieroglyphics*, they will be given according to a numerical order corresponding with ciphers upon the Plate.

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(1) See "*Greek Marbles*," No. II. p. 3. *Camb.* 1809.

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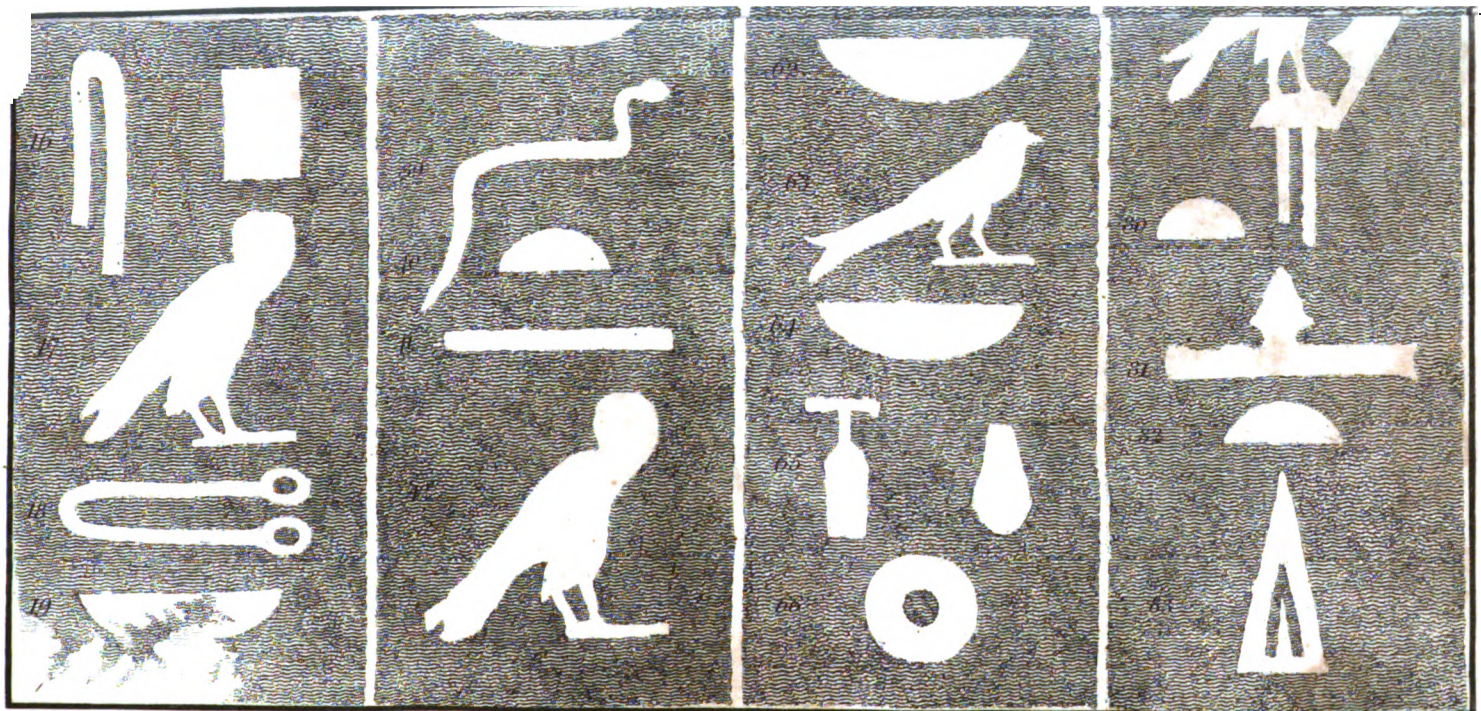

Fac Simile of an entire HIEROGLYPHIC TABLET, as found at Saïs.

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N. B. *See the Plate.*

No. 1. THE Segment of a Circle, thus placed, is believed by almost all writers upon the subject of *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, to signify the SUN in the *Lower Hemisphere*. May it not therefore denote a period of time? Sometimes a small Orb is placed within it, as at *No.* 31. Enumeration of the *Archetypes.*

2. An Egyptian *Sistrum*, with four *Chords*, or *Bars*, as described by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir. c.* 63.) the sound of which was believed to avert and drive away *Typhon*. Plutarch has given a particular account of this instrument.

—— "Quid nunc *Ægyptia* prosunt
Sistra?"——

3. Two *Battle-axes*, fashioned like weapons brought from the South Seas, with stone blades, fastened to wooden handles.

4. The *Scarabæan Ball*;—among the Egyptians, a type of the SUN. *See Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. &c.*

5. Perhaps an antient *Auger*, used in boring stones for lapidary inscriptions, &c.

6. An *Eagle*, as seen on *Medals* of the PTOLEMIES.

7. The *Testudo*, or two-stringed Lyre; the φόρμιγξ of HOMER.

8. Another Musical Instrument.

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9. A supposed Type of the *Sun in the Upper Hemisphere*, as contrasted with *No.* 1.

10. The *Sacred Inclosure* of Saïs, and Cœmetery of their Kings. *See Herodotus, Strabo, &c.*

11. A cumbent *Sceptre*, or War Instrument.

12. *Testudo*, and Battle-axe.

13. The appearance of a Line, as seen here, inclosing some of the hieroglyphic characters, which are thereby separated from the rest, may possibly be nothing more than a *parenthetical* mark. These are common on the *Obelisk* of *Heliopolis*. The characters so included represent the *Scarabæan Ball*, as at *No.* 4. and *two Vessels of Terra Cotta*, with forms often observed among antient Vases of Earthen-ware.

14. Represents the same instrument as at *No.* 2. and *a copper Knife-blade*, like those which are found in the *Catacombs* of *Saccára*, and other *Sepulchres* of *Egypt*.

15. Same as *No.* 4.

16. A *Fillet*, seen upon representations of Apis; with the square *Soros*, or Chest, in which his remains were deposited.

17. An Owl.

18. *Forceps*, as found in *Greek* sepulchres; used to fasten garments.

19. Same as *No.* 1.

20. The Horns of Apis. (" *Et comes in pompâ Corniger Apis erat.*") Such was the symbol of Power and

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Divinity over all the Eastern world. "AND THE TEN HORNS WHICH THOU SAWEST ARE TEN KINGS." *Rev.* xvii. 12. See also *Psalms* 18, 12, 75, 10. *Dan.* vii. 24; &c. &c.

21. *Axes* for beheading Victims. Instruments of the same form were used in beheading cattle during the public festivals of Venice; particularly during the Carnival.

22. Entrances to the ADYTA ÆGYPTIORUM. (*See Kircher, tom.* I. *p.* 393. *Rom.* 1652.) "AND HE BROUGHT ME TO THE DOOR OF THE COURT: AND WHEN I LOOKED, BEHOLD A HOLE IN THE WALL. THEN SAID HE UNTO ME, SON OF MAN, DIG NOW IN THE WALL. AND WHEN I HAD DIGGED IN THE WALL, BEHOLD A DOOR. SO I WENT IN, AND SAW; AND BEHOLD, EVERY FORM OF CREEPING THINGS, AND ABOMINABLE BEASTS, AND ALL THE IDOLS OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, POURTRAYED UPON THE WALL ROUND ABOUT." *Ezekiel, ch.* viii. 7, 8, 10. See also *Eusebius, lib.* ii. *Præp. Evang. Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodoxos; &c.*

23. Small Vessels of pale Clay, exactly of this form, baked only by the Sun's heat, are found in digging among the Antiquities of Saïs, and also in the Catacombs of *Saccára.*

24. This strange-looking figure can only be comprehended by comparing it with other representations of the same thing, where the object is more distinctly delineated. It is intended for an angle of

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the elbow, with the lower part of the arm and hand extended horizontally; the hand containing a cup, or small vase. It is very perfectly represented in *Zoega's* Plate of the *Obeliscus Campensis*.

25. Two *Battle-axes*.

26. Same as *No.* 10.

27. Same as *No.* 5.

28. Vessels of *Terra Cotta*, as found at SAIS.

29. Same as *No.* 4. The mark towards the centre exhibits only a convexity found in almost all *hieroglyphics*, rising from their inferior surface.

30. Is an Astronomical Sign; and it proves that the antient symbol of *Byzantium* was derived from *Egypt*. Upon the *Byzantine* medals, the *Star* appears above the *Crescent*, which is here given in an inverted position. It is still seen upon the walls of the Grand Signior's palace at *Constantinople*; near the gilded iron gate in the Gardens of the Seraglio, by which the Sultan enters from his winter apartments. The *Turks* display it upon their banners. The very antient tradition preserved in *Athenæus*, of 'the *Sun*'s sailing over the Ocean every night in a Cup,' may possibly refer to this part of the *Egyptian* Mythology. (*See Athen. p.* 469. *Also Bentley upon Phalaris, p.* 81.) It seems to correspond with representations seen upon heads of *Isis*, and also of *Ceres*, where an entire *Orb* is placed within a *Crescent*.

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31. Same as *No.* 1. distinguished only by containing an *Orb*, or *Scarabæan Ball.*

32. Similar to *No.* 30.

33. Same as *No.* 31.

34. *Triglyph*, as seen in *Doric* Architecture. This figure occurs as a written character in the antient vernacular language of *Egypt.*

35, & 36. Same as *No.* 31.

37. Same as *No.* 29.

38. Same as *No.* 1.

39. The *Serpent*, as described by *Herodotus;* held sacred in antient *Egypt*, and still venerated by its modern inhabitants. CERES was represented among the *Greeks* in a *Car drawn by Serpents:* and our Saviour used the expression, "*Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.*

40. Same as *No.* 9.

41. Perhaps a Dyke, or Canal.

42. An Owl.

43. Same as *No.* 10.

44. Same as *No.* 7.

45. Same as *No.* 28.

46. Same as *No.* 29.

47. Head of an Ostrich, and of an Ox or Heifer.

48. A well-known sign, used by the Antients, upon their medals, gems, vases, &c. to denote *Water.* The representations of '*IO* crossing *the Sea*' have frequently no other sign to signify *water* than this type beneath the figure of the *Heifer.*

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49. The *Coluber Cerastes*, or Horned Viper, a native of *Egypt*. *See Hasselquist, p.* 221. *Lond.* 1766. *Linn. Syst. Nat. p.* 217.

50. Same as *No.* 20.

51. A *Lachrymatory*, between two *Strigils*.

52. Perhaps the *Bow-string;* an instrument of punishment used in the East.

53. An *Egyptian* Altar.

54. Same as *No.* 24.

55. A perfect representation of the *Ibis*. That which Dr. *Shaw* has given, as found upon a *Sardonyx*, is far from being so faithful a portrait of this animal. *See Shaw's Travels, Plate facing p.* 409. *Lond.* 1757.

56. Same as *No.* 23.

57, & 58. Unknown.

59. Same as *No.* 1.

60. Same as *No.* 5.

61. Unknown.

62. Same as *No.* 1.

63. A Dove.

64. Same as *No.* 1.

65. Same as *No.* 28.

66. Same as *No.* 29.

67. Same as *No.* 40, accompanied by the *Thyrsus Scyllocyprius*. *See Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 277. *Rom.* 1652.

68. Unknown.

69. An Obelisk.

70. Same as *No.* 3.

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71. Here the type of the *Sun* in the *Upper Hemisphere* is introduced between the figures of *a Bird* and one of those *Crosses*, but without a *handle*, which are mentioned by *Ruffinus*, and by *Socrates Scholasticus*, *lib.* v. *c.* 17.

72. Same as *No.* 22.

73. Unknown.

74. Same as *No.* 9.

75. Same as *No.* 69.

76. Three Axes.

77. Same as *No.* 1.

78. The same *Bird* appears at *No.* 71. Unknown.

79. Shews the only instance which occurs, in this *Hieroglyphic Tablet*, of the mode by which the Priests compounded several archetypes into one symbol. The *Fillet*, as at No. 16, is thrown over a sign of the *Sun* in the *Upper Hemisphere*[1], as at No. 9; and these form a pedestal, supporting *a Dove*, as at No. 63; and the *Blade of a Knife*, somewhat similar to that seen at No. 14.

80. Seems also a part of the compound figure in No. 79; being in the same line with the extremities of the *Fillet*.

81. Unknown.

82. Same as *No.* 9.

83. Same as *No.* 69.

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(1) By the sign of the *Sun* in the *Upper Hemisphere*, the *Egyptians* denoted AMMON; by that of the *Sun* in the *Lower Hemisphere*, according to *Jablonski*, SERAPIS was typified. See *Jablonski's* beautiful illustration of these signs, *Pantheon Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 235. *Francof.* 1750.

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The reader will perhaps deem these observations of little importance; yet surely the first step towards any chance of discovering a key to the *Hieroglyphic* characters will be that which enables us to determine the *archetypes* whence the *letters* were severally derived: for although these may appear somewhat plainly delineated upon this very antient Tablet, they are by no means so universally. As soon as the full outline was modified, and approached nearer to signs used as *letters*, the original forms were so altered that they almost disappeared. Thus we find examples, in the manuscripts taken from mummies, of a mode of writing, where the representation of an animal, or of any other visible object, only now and then appears, mingled with the *letters*, and very imperfectly traced [1]. Nor was this the only change that took place. The inscription upon this Tablet, as it is evident, was intended to be read *vertically*, or from *top* to *bottom*, according to the form now observed in the *vulgar writing* of the *Calmucks* [2], and some other *Oriental* nations: but

(1) See *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, *p.* 407, &c. *Lond.* 1809.

(2) The *sacred writing* of the *Calmucks* is read from left to right, like our own. See Vol. I. of these Travels, p. 436. *Octavo Edit.*

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in process of time, the *horizontal* manner of tracing the signs was introduced, as we see by the *inscriptions* upon the *tablet* found at *Saccára*[3]; and the characters were then read from left to right, if we may judge from the position of the figures introduced among the *hieroglyphics* upon that stone.

When we had agreed with the *Arabs* for the purchase of this *Tablet*, and for its safe conveyance on board the *djerm*, we prepared to examine the interior of the Mosque. Here we found, among other materials loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, the finest piece of *Egyptian* sculpture we had yet seen. This was the *Torso* of a statue of the kind of *trap* mentioned before, or *green Oriental basalt*. So perfect is its preservation, that the polish upon its surface equals that of glass. A zone, covered with *hieroglyphics*, fastens the apron round its waist; and this apron is believed to represent the leaf of some *Egyptian* plant. But that which particularly distinguishes this *Torso*, is the curious exhibition it offers of the process used by the antient sculptors of *Egypt* in graving the *hieroglyphical*

Curious *Torso* of an antient Statue.

(3) See p. 239, and the Plate.

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symbols; a part only of the graved work being completed, and the rest of the figures sketched, as delineations upon the stone, with great ingenuity and accuracy, preparatory to their incision. Another remarkable circumstance, but generally characterizing the best *hieroglyphical* sculpture, may be distinctly observed upon this *Torso*. Although the engraved characters be all of them *intagliated*, and may be considered as *intaglios*, yet a bold convexity is perceivable within each figure, rising in relief from the inferior surface, like the workmanship of a *Caméo*[1]. There is a third point of view in which this curious fragment of the finest sculpture of *Egypt* is also entitled to more particular regard; not only in the University where it is now placed, but from literary men in general, and among all those who are interested in *Ecclesiastical* history. The very first *hieroglyphical* character engraven upon the back of this statue, is the CRUX ANSATA; the identical type mentioned

Triple *Hierogram* with the Symbol of the Cross.

(1) *Johnson* writes this word *Camaieu*, from *Chamachuia*; but it is now become sufficiently naturalized, under its present form, to admit of its being written according to the common mode of pronouncing the word. *Nicols*, in his "*Lapidary*," *chap.* xxv. *p.* 131, (*printed at Cambridge in* 1652,) wrote it both *Chamehuia*, and *Cameus*. The Editors of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, *vol.* V. *Part* I. *Edin.* 1812, have adopted the word *Camép*.

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by early writers of the Church, as having caused such a stir among *Christians* and *Pagans*, at the destruction of the *Heathen* temples in ALEXANDRIA[2]. From the time of *Ruffinus*, of *Socrates*, and of *Sozomen*, this type has occasionally exercised the ingenuity and the erudition of the most learned scholars[3]. It is seen suspended from a hook, which is fastened by

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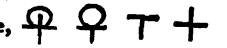
(2) See Chap. IV. p. 150, of this volume.

(3) *Jamblichus*, in an earlier period, had endeavoured to explain it. Among the moderns, *Kircher*, *Jablonski*, our countryman *Dr. Shaw*, *De Pauw*, and others, have all written upon this subject. It is the jewel of the *Royal Arch* among Freemasons, and is expressed in this manner, a sign consisting of three *Taus* joined by their feet at right angles; thus completing the monogram of *Thoth*, or *Taaut*, the symbolical and mystic name of *hidden wisdom*, and of the Supreme Being, among the antient *Egyptians*: the ΘΕΟΣ of the *Greeks*. "Numen illud," says *Jablonski*, (*Panth. Ægypt. tom.* III. *p.* 170. *Francof.* 1752.) "erat ipse *Phthas*, Vulcanus Ægyptiorum, Spiritus "infinitus, RERUM OMNIUM CREATOR ET CONSERVATOR, ipsorumque "Deorum pater ac princeps." It is amusing to trace the various modifications by which this type of *hidden wisdom* is expressed. Sometimes, as the sun in the lower hemisphere, (*See Jablonski, tom.* I. *p.* 235), it appears in hieroglyphic writing under this sign, . At other times it was written ⊙, and hence we see clearly what is meant by an antient patera with a knob in the bottom of it. Its other principal varieties were,  . Upon Greek medals we find the last monogram written . However, as all the sacred mysteries seem to owe their origin to those sources whence the human race derived the means of subsistence, the following remarks of the Bishop of *Clogher* may, with reference to an instrument in agriculture, simply explain all that was intended by the earliest representations

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its other extremity to a *globe* or *ball*, evidently intended for the *Sun*[1]. Admitting, therefore, the explanation of the *Crux ansata*, as given to us, upon the testimony of converted *Heathens*, by *Ruffinus* and by *Socrates Scholasticus*[2], and supposing the meaning of these figures to be *symbolical* in this instance rather than *literal*, we may explain the signification of this triple *hieroglyphic* without further conjecture; for it plainly indicates that LIFE TO COME PROCEEDS FROM, AND DEPENDS UPON, THE GIVER OF LIGHT. The *Christians*, says *Socrates*[3], perceiving that this great truth was couched under *hieroglyphical* signs, and that the same signs did also prognosticate the downfall of the *Temple of Serapis* whenever its meaning became known, exulted in the discovery, and made it the ground upon which many of the *Heathens* were converted. After the same manner, continues the historian[4], did the Apostle *St. Paul* convert many of the

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representations of this symbol. "As to the *Crux ansata* (says he) which hath so much puzzled the learned world, &c. it is no more than a *setting-stick* for planting roots and larger seeds." *See Origin of Hieroglyphics, p.* 121. *Lond.* 1753.

(1) See No. 7, of the last Plate.

(2) See Chap. IV. p. 152, of this volume.

(3) Socrates Scholasticus, lib. v. c. 17. p. 276. *Paris*, 1668.

(4) Ibid.

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Athenians to the faith, by using for his purpose a *Heathen* altar, which he found with an inscription "To THE UNKNOWN GOD." CHAP. VI.

Having also purchased this *Torso*, and conveyed it on board the vessel, as the day was now far advanced, we prepared for our departure from SAÏS; much gratified by a view of the place, and by the acquisitions we had made in so short a space of time. The *Arabs* expressed equal satisfaction; for the whole village assembled to accompany us as far as the river; the women dancing, singing, and clapping their hands; and the men playing upon reed pipes, called here *Zúmana*[5]. Many of these women wore large bracelets of ivory; and exhibited the same indecent gestures which we had noticed among the dancing-girls in our visit to *Saccára*. They remained dancing upon the shore until we lost sight both of them and of *Sé'l Hajar*. The *Nile* was truly boisterous, and the rapidity of our descent rendered our loss of time of less consequence: it was like a passage of the *rapids* in some of the rivers that fall into the *Gulph of Bothnia;* and, towards

(5) It is the same instrument which we noticed at *Saccára*, under the name *Zabúna*.

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Mahallet Abouali.

evening, the turbulence of the waves induced our boatmen to anchor, for a short time, at the village of *Mahallet Abouali*. The wind was less violent after sun-set; and we passed *Rachmanie* during the night, regretting that we could not see the great Canal which supplied *Alexandria* with water from the river.

Berinbal.

Before day-light in the morning, *September* the fifth, we went to the village of *Berinbal*, to see the manner of hatching poultry, by placing their eggs in ovens, so frequently mentioned by authors, and so well described by one of our oldest travellers, *George Sandys*[1]. Notwithstanding this, the whole contrivance, and the trade connected with it, are accompanied by such extraordinary circumstances, that it required all the evidence of one's senses to give them credibility. We were conducted to one of the principal buildings constructed for this purpose; and entered by a narrow passage, on each side of which were two rows of chambers, in two tiers, one above the other, with cylindrical holes, as passages, from the lower to the upper tier. The floor of the upper tier is grated

Ovens for hatching Chickens.

(1) See "Relation of a Journey began A. D. 1610," p. 125. *Lond.* 1637.

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and covered with mats, on which is laid camel's dung; somewhat resembling the manner of placing hops, for drying, in *English* Oast-houses. We counted twenty chambers, and in each chamber had been placed three thousand eggs; so that the aggregate of the eggs then hatching amounted to the astonishing number of sixty thousand. Of these, above half are destroyed in the process. The time of hatching continues from autumn until spring. At first, all the eggs are put in the lower tier. The most important part of the business consists, of course, in a precise attention to the requisite temperature: this we would willingly have ascertained by the thermometer, but could not adjust it to the nice test adopted by the *Arab* superintendant of the ovens. His manner of ascertaining it is very curious. Having closed one of his eyes, he applies an egg to the outside of his eyelid; and if the heat be not great enough to cause any uneasy sensation, all is safe; but if he cannot bear the heat of the egg thus applied to his eye, the temperature of the ovens must be quickly diminished, or the whole batch will be destroyed[2]. During the first eight

(2) We may therefore suppose the temperature about equal to blood-heat, or 100° of *Fahrenheit*.

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days of hatching, the eggs are kept carefully turned. At the end of that time, the culling begins. Every egg is then examined, being held between a lamp and the eye; and thus the good are distinguished from the bad, which are cast away. Two days after this culling, the fire is extinguished; then half the eggs upon the lower are conveyed to the upper tier, through the cylindrical passages in the floor; and the ovens are closed. In about ten days more, and sometimes twelve, the chickens are hatched. At this time a very singular ceremony ensues. An *Arab* enters the oven, stooping and treading upon stones placed so that he may walk among the eggs without injuring them, and begins clucking like a hen; continuing this curious mimicry until the whole are disclosed. We heard this noise, and were equally surprised and amused by the singular adroitness of the imitation. The chickens thus hatched are then sold to persons employed in rearing them. Many are strangely deformed; and great numbers die, not only in rearing, but even during the sale; for, to add to the extraordinary nature of the whole undertaking, the proprietors of these ovens do not give themselves the trouble of counting the live chickens, in order to sell them by number, but dispose of

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them, as we should say, by the gallon; heaping them into a measure containing a certain quantity, for which they ask the low price of a *para*; rather more than a farthing of our money. Four soldiers were at this time stationed at *Berinbal*, to protect the inhabitants from being pillaged by our allies, the *Turks*.

Tombs at *Massora Shibrecki*.

Near to this village we noticed the superb tomb of some *Santon*, or *Sheik*, standing upon the banks of the *Nile*. The form of the dome, so prevalent in these buildings, seems to have been originally borrowed from the shape either of a pumpkin or of a melon; the external fluted surface, and almost the entire form of the fruit, being modelled by the architect. The custom also of surrounding a principal tomb with humbler sepulchres, as it existed in ages when the *Pyramids* were erected, seems, by the appearance of this cœmetery, to have been common in the country. The place is called *Massora Shibrecki*. Other travellers have observed, not only in *Egypt*, but also in *Syria*, and particularly in the neighbourhood of *Damascus*, a form of *sepulchre* precisely corresponding, though upon a smaller scale, with the graduated structure of the *Pyramids*; being all of them *pyramidal*, with decreasing ranges, of *four* or more steps, like

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the principal *Pyramids* of *Saccára* [1]. It is proper to mention this, because it tends to confirm what was before said of the *sepulchral* origin of the *Pyramids;* and also because this peculiarity is not observable in the cœmetery at *Massora Shibrecki,* which might be supposed to exhibit the usual form of *Oriental* tombs. The shape here of the smaller *sepulchres* is rather cylindrical than pyramidal.

A little below *Berimbal,* there is a canal which extends to the Lake *Berelos* [2]. At the mouth of it we saw some birds of exquisite beauty, to which the *Arabs* give the name of *Sicsack;* but

(1) Colonel *Squire* mentions this circumstance twice in his Journal; once in describing the Cœmeteries of *Damascus,* and a second time in his account of the *Pyramids* of *Saccára.* Speaking of the latter, he says, "To this day the inhabitants cover the spot where the body is interred with a sort of monument, which is evidently taken from the form of a pyramid. The large *pyramid* at *Saccára* is formed in four stages, and is flat at the top. Indeed, all the *Pyramids,* although, as it is reported, they may have been cased with a smooth stone surface, are built with steps, and many of them are flat on the summit. At present, the common tombs of the inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Syria* are built in this form. In the towns, the work is masonry; in the villages, they are constructed of mud; but they retain, in either instance, a resemblance to the *Pyramids* in their forms. This, joined to other circumstances, seems to afford a strong proof that the *Pyramids* were originally intended as receptacles for the dead." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

(2) See the Map facing p. 290, in Vol. II. of the 4to. edition of these Travels.

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could learn nothing further of their history. Also a species of *Ardea*, entirely of a white colour, by some mistaken for the *Ibis;* but the bill is differently shaped, and the *Ibis* has generally, if not always, some black feathers near the tail. *Hasselquist* described the *Ibis* as a species of *Ardea*, of the size of a raven [3]. He says that it eats and destroys serpents [4], small frogs, and insects; that it is very common in *Egypt*, and almost peculiar to that country. We saw also the *Egyptian Plover*, or *Tringa Ægyptiaca* of the same author. The rest of our voyage to *Rosetta* was so expeditious, that we arrived there by eight o'clock in the same morning; and repaired to our former residence upon the quay. As soon as we landed, Mr. *Hammer* heard that Sir *Sidney Smith* was upon the point of sailing for *England;* and being unable to resist the opportunity thus offered of visiting a country he so much wished to see, he gave up the plan he had formed for an expedition to the *Oases*, and set out immediately for the *British* fleet. While he was employed in procuring camels for himself and his servant, we wrote a few letters of

Arrival at *Rosetta.*

(3) *Hasselquist's* Travels, p. 198. *Lond.* 1766.

(4) See *Savigny's* observation upon the anatomy of the *Ibis*, denying this property.

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introduction for him to some of our correspondents in the University of *Cambridge*, and in other parts of *England*; and with great regret took leave of our valuable friend.

We found an evident difference of climate between this place and *Grand Caïro*. The dates were not yet ripe; and the mercury in *Fahrenheit's* thermometer, when we made our usual observation at noon, had fallen five degrees lower than it stood at *Grand Caïro* only four days before; being at *eighty-nine* upon *September* the first; and this day, *September* the fifth, at *eighty-four*. The number of *English* women that had assembled at *Rosetta* from the different ships in the fleet, and were walking daily upon the strand, offered a singular contrast to the appearance exhibited by the *Arab* females, in their passage to and from the *Nile* for water, and in the markets of the town. To these were also occasionally added the women of the *Indian* army, now encamped near to *Rosetta*, wearing large rings in their noses, and silver cinctures about their ankles and wrists; their faces, at the same time, being frightfully disfigured by red streaks, traced above the eyebrows. Each party of these females doubtless regarded the other two as so many savages; and who shall

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say which was the most refined? The town had undergone other alterations, and was much improved as a place of residence since we left it in the beginning of *August*. An *Italian* had opened a coffee-house, which was the resort of the officers both of the army and navy. A prospect of tranquillity had brought back many families, who had before deserted it: and *Arabs* were seen in great number in the streets, selling sugar-canes, fruit, and other vegetables; and employed in making chairs, tables and bedsteads, from the branches of the date trees[1]. We had no time to spare for any further inquiry into the history of the place, or the antiquities it might conceal[2]; yet, in spite of every

(1) *Rosetta* was again become an emporium for the surprising harvest of *Upper* as well as of *Lower Egypt*. Mr. *Wills*, acting as Commissary for our fleet, to whom we were indebted for many acts of civility, at this time received an order for corn, to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds sterling. This gentleman informed us, and said he was convinced of the truth of the statement, that *Upper Egypt* could annually supply five millions of *Cairo ardepts* of wheat; each *ardept* being equal to *five bushels* of our measure; besides a great supply of barley and rice, the precise quantity of which he was unable to ascertain.

(2) Colonel *Squire* arrived at *Rosetta* in the evening of the same day on which we left it. The following remarks occur in his Journal. "The town of *Rosetta*, or *Raschid* as it is called by the *Arabs*, was built in the year of *Christ* 875; and is now in a very ruinous state: the houses, which are built of burned brick, are high; and the streets, as

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exertion to prosecute our expedition to *Alexandria*, we were detained three days in preparing and packing cases, containing the collection we had made, and in procuring another *djerm* to convey them to the fleet; the boat in which we came having been pressed for the service of the army, as soon as it arrived.

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as in all *Turkish* towns, narrow. At this time it is but thinly inhabited, although trade (now the ports of *Egypt* are relieved from a blockade) seems about to revive: the shops are well stocked with provisions of all kinds. Wild fowl may be had in abundance. It may easily be conceived that the eye would revel in a prospect so refreshing as the *Delta*, (after contemplating the sandy *deserts* of *Aboukir*, and the neighbourhood of *Alexandria*,) forming so delightful a contrast by its verdure and cultivation. Of late years, the *desert* has encroached, even here, considerably on the town; and the west side of *Rosetta* is completely skirted by sand hills." *Squire's MS. Journal.*

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View of the Obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles.

CHAP. VII.

ROSETTA TO ALEXANDRIA.

Voyage to Aboukir—*Visit to Lord* Keith—*Journey to* Alexandria—*Arrival at the* British *Camp*—*Communication with Lord* Hutchinson—*Entrance into the* French *Garrison*—*Wretched state of the Inhabitants*—*Visit from a party of Merchants*—*Discovery of the* Tomb of Alexander—*Circumstances of its removal by the* French —*Its situation upon the Author's arrival*—*Internal evidence of its authenticity*—*Other antiquities collected by the* French—Cleopatra's Needles—Pompey's Pillar—*Discovery of the Inscription*—*Sepulchral origin of the Column*—*Manner of its support*—*Proof that it was erected by the* Romans—*Restoration of the legend upon the pedestal*—*Events that occurred after the death of* Pompey—*Shrine constructed by* Cæsar—*Testimony of the* Arabian *Historians*—Hadrian's *monument to his*

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horse — Traditionary name of the Pillar founded on historical evidence—Interview with Menou—*Surrender of the* Rosetta Tablet—*Intercourse between the armies* —French *Institute—Catacombs of* Necropolis—Serapeum *of* Racotis—*Of* Hades *and of* Ammon—*Cause of such elaborate sepulchres—Descent into the* Cryptæ—*Remarkable Symbol—Imperfect accounts of the* Alexandrian *Antiquities—Conduct of the Capudan* Pasha.

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Voyage to *Aboukir.*

EARLY on the morning of *September* the eighth, we got once more under weigh, in a large *djerm*, having all our *Egyptian* collection of antiquities on board; and saw the beautiful prospect of *Rosetta* disappear, as we sailed between the Isle of *Sarshes*[1] and the DELTA. We had little wind, but it was favourable; and as we passed the fearful bar at the mouth of the NILE, there was not the smallest surf. A small isle at the entrance of the river was entirely covered with pelicans. About half way between the *boccaze* and the fleet, we observed a salute from all the *Turkish* ships at anchor; in honour, as it was said, of some *Moslem* festival. The mud of the immense torrent now pouring into the *Mediterranean*, at the highest period of the *Nile's* inundation, extended over the surface of this part of

(1) See the *Map* facing p. 290 of the Second Volume of these Travels, 4to. edit.

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the sea; and the water tasted fresh at a considerable distance from the embouchure. As Captain *Clarke*'s frigate no longer remained among the transports, we steered our vessel among the merchant ships lying nearer to the coast towards *Aboukir*, and came alongside the *Felicité* from *Smyrna*, laden with stores. Here we were hospitably received by our friend Mr. *Schutz*, of that city, who was on board, as supercargo; and by a worthy *Ragusan*, who was master of the merchantman.

Visit to Lord *Keith*.

The next morning, *Wednesday*, *September* the ninth, we waited upon Lord *Keith*, to thank him for the civilities he had shewn to us, and to take our leave. He told us that no vessels would be permitted to sail into the port of *Alexandria*, until the *French* had evacuated the city, and the magazines been properly secured by our army; as he knew that there were not less than fifty or sixty ships, manned by *Greeks* and *Turks*, waiting for the sole purpose of plunder. We could not therefore obtain permission for the *Felicité* to take us thither; and we returned, to undertake the journey by land. A contrary wind, with a heavy sea, had caused so much delay, and had given us so much labour in working up to the Admiral's ship, that we did

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not get back again until the day was far advanced. We passed that night upon the deck of the *Felicité*; the cabin swarming to such a degree with bugs, that the table, during dinner, was covered with them. We set out very early, *September* the tenth, accompanied by Mr. *Schutz*, and reached the *British* camp by day-break. The Commander-in-chief was on horseback, inspecting the lines. We waited in his tent until he returned, when he received us with his usual condescension and kindness. He told us that our friend Mr. *Hamilton* had also reached the camp that morning, and had been furnished with a passport to enter *Alexandria*. The capitulation for the surrender of that city had been protracted by the contumacy of the *French* General, *Menou*, who was unwilling to deliver up the *Antiquities* demanded by the *English*; and his reluctance, in this respect, was considerably augmented by observing the increasing nature of those demands: for as the *French* had carefully concealed what they possessed, fresh intelligence continually came to Lord *Hutchinson* concerning the acquisitions they had made, and gave rise to some new exaction on the part of our army. Thus finding himself likely to be stripped of all the *Egyptian* trophies with which he had prepared to adorn the *Museum* at PARIS,

Arrival at the *British* Camp.

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Menou gave no bounds to his rage and mortification. Sometimes he threatened to bury himself and his troops in the ruins of *Alexandria*, sooner than accede to the proposals he had received; at other times he had recourse to the most ridiculous gasconade, and threatened to meet Lord *Hutchinson* in single combat. The valuable *Tablet* found near *Rosetta*, with its famous trilinguar inscription, seemed to be, more than any other article, the subject of his remonstrances; because this, he maintained, was "his private property; and therefore as exempt from requisition as the linen of his wardrobe, or his embroidered saddles[1]." We then ventured to inform his Lordship, that we had reason to believe there was something concealed in *Alexandria*, for the possession of which the *French* were more anxious than even for this *Tablet*: and making known to him the nature of our errand, received his orders to set out instantly for *Alexandria*; and endeavour to discover, not only where the particular monument was hid to which we alluded, but also whatsoever other antiquities the *French* might have secreted in the city. He gave us also authority

(1) These were nearly *Menou*'s own words, as they are given in the sequel.

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from himself to receive the *Rosetta Tablet*, and to copy its inscriptions; fearful lest any accident might befal it, either while it remained in the possession of the enemy, or in its passage home. His Lordship had already obtained an impression from the stone, made with red chalk, upon paper, by some member of the *French* Institute; but the characters so impressed were too imperfectly marked to afford a faithful representation of the original: this he consigned to our care, as likely to assist us in the undertaking. While we were thus engaged in receiving his Lordship's instructions, Colonel *Montresor* came in, and undertook to procure for us the horses and forage which Lord *Hutchinson* had ordered. Having then given us a passport for quitting the *English* lines and entering the city, we were conducted to the tent of Colonel *Probyn*, of the Royal *Irish*; and in a short time, Colonel *Montresor*, from whom we had often before experienced the most friendly attentions, arrived with horses, and every thing necessary for our conveyance.

Thus provided, we left the *British* camp, and, crossing the valley which separated the two armies, drew near to the outworks of *Alexandria*. Our sentinels, being then advanced

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close to the fortifications of the place, challenged us; and having given them the word, we were suffered to pass on. As we approached the gates of the city, we saw a vast number of *Arabs*, who were stationed on the outside of the walls, with baskets of poultry and other provisions, waiting for permission from the *English* to supply the inhabitants, who were then greatly distressed for want of food. At the gates, a *French* sentinel received our passport, and conducted us to an officer for its examination; who directed us to present it again, when we should arrive at head-quarters, within the city. In the desolate scene of sand and ruins which intervenes between the outer gates and the interior fortifications, we met a party of miserable *Turks*, who were endeavouring, literally, to crawl towards their camp[1]. They had been liberated that morning from their dungeons. The legs of these poor creatures, swoln to a size that was truly horrible, were covered with large ulcers; and their eyes were terrible, from inflammation. Some, too weak to advance,

Entrance into the *French* Garrison.

(1) Some repetition will perhaps be noticed of observations made in a former work (*Tomb of Alexander, p.* 38.); but the author did not consider any thing which occurred in a preceding publication as authorising the omission of a part of his Journal upon the present occasion.

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had fallen on the sand, where they were exposed to the scorching beams of the sun. Immediately on seeing us, they uttered such moans that might have pierced the hearts of their cruel oppressors. They begged for water, but we had none to give them; for, eager in the pursuit of our object, we had neglected to supply ourselves with provisions. We succeeded, but not without difficulty, in prevailing upon some *Arabs* to take care of them, until relief could be obtained[1]; and at eleven o'clock, A. M. we passed, through the inner gates, into the great square of *Alexandria*.

Wretched state of the inhabitants of *Alexandria*.

We found the inhabitants in the greatest distress for want of provisions: many of them had not tasted meat or bread for several months. The *French*, who were better supplied for some time, were now driven to such straits, that they had put to death fifteen horses every day, for many days past, to supply their own soldiers with food. The families to whom we had brought letters were in a state of misery hardly to be described. We first went to the house of the *Imperial* Consul. They asked us

(1) We had afterwards the happiness of hearing that they reached the *Turkish* camp.

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eagerly when the *English* were to enter the city: and being told that some days would elapse before this could take place, they burst into tears. Every individual beneath the Consul's roof exhibited proof of the privation which his family had sustained: fallen cheeks; clothes hanging loose, as if too large for their bodies; and a general appearance of wretchedness and dejection. The Consul said, that his family had tasted neither bread nor meat for many months: that their principal food had been bad rice and onions. Upon the landing of our army, most of the inhabitants were under the necessity of making biscuit for the support of their families; but as soon as this was known to *Menou*, he ordered the whole of it to be seized for the use of the garrison. When we inquired what other measures the *French* had adopted to maintain themselves, we were informed, that they had seized all the specie, plate, and merchandize in the city; and given, in lieu thereof, bills upon their *one and indivisible* Republic; thus having the means of buying up, at enormous prices, whatever article of food might be brought in by the *Arabs*, or appear in the markets of the place[2].

(2) The following prices were given, upon the day of our arrival, for provisions; which, of course, the merchants were precluded from buying,

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If the capitulation had been prolonged another fortnight, every merchant's family would have been found destitute even of clothing; for, every fortnight, additional exactions were made by the troops; and already every thing else had been seized. It was calculated, that of the *Turks*, then prisoners in the city, upwards of forty perished daily. The *French* had carried their cruelty to these men to the severest extremities; making them work, like horses, at their mills, and in drawing water. All the male inhabitants had been compelled to assist in the duties of the garrison, and to bear arms, upon pain of imprisonment if they refused; a species of oppression which, perhaps, might have been expected from any troops similarly situated; neither would it be altogether fair to judge of

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buying, as they had been stripped of every thing likely to be accepted in exchange.

	L.	*s.*	*d.* *English.*
For One pound of beef	0	10	0
One bottle of wine	1	0	0
One ditto of brandy . . .	1	10	0
One pound of bad rice . .	0	1	0
One ditto of cheese	0	9	0
A fish (the size of a mackarel)	0	5	0
One egg	0	0	8

Neither bread nor wood could be obtained at any price: the *French* soldiers were then employed in pulling down the houses of the inhabitants for fuel.

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Frenchmen in general by the sample which their army in *Egypt* afforded; collected as it had been, from the refuse not only of the *French* Republic, but of all the rovers and banditti of the *Levant*[1]. So desirous were the *French* soldiers of abandoning *Alexandria*, notwithstanding the obstinacy of their General, *Menou*, whom they detested, that they had been seen to seize *Arabs* by the beard, who arrived by stealth with provisions, and beat them, in order that supplies of food might not be the means of protracting the surrender of the place.

We had scarcely reached the house in which we were to reside, when a party of the merchants, who had heard of our arrival from the *Imperial* Consul, came to congratulate us upon the successes of our army, and to offer any assistance in their power, for expediting the entry of the *English* into *Alexandria*. Some of these waited until the room was cleared of other visitants, brought by curiosity, before whom they did not think proper to make further communication. But when they were gone,

(1) The subsequent conduct, however, of the *French* armies, in their treatment of the inhabitants of the countries through which their armies have passed, has been invariably such as to degrade the name of a *soldier* into that of a *robber*.

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speaking with circumspection, and in a low voice, they asked if our business in *Alexandria* related to the subject of contention between Lord *Hutchinson* and *Menou*; namely, the *Antiquities* collected by the *French* in *Egypt*? Upon being answered in the affirmative, and, in proof of it, the copy of the *Rosetta Stone* being produced, the principal person among them said, "Does your Commander-in-chief know that they have the *Tomb of Alexander*?" We desired them to describe it: upon which they said, that it was of one entire and *beautiful green stone*[1], shaped like a cistern, and taken from the *Mosque* of *St. Athanasius*; that, among the inhabitants, this cistern had always borne the appellation of *Alexander's Tomb*. Upon further conversation, it was evident that this could be no other than the identical monument to which our instructions from *Caïro* referred. We produced the confidential letter entrusted to us upon this subject. The person to whom it was written was not present; but they offered to conduct us to his house. We had hitherto carefully concealed the circumstance of its being in our possession; and, for obvious reasons, we shall

Discovery of the *Tomb* of *Alexander*.

(1) The fact is, that the stone, being a mass of *breccia*, is variegated; and parts of it only are of a *green colour*.

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not mention, even now, the name of the individual to whom it was addressed. "It relates then," said they, "to the particular object of our present visit; and we will put it in your power to get possession of it." They then related the unjustifiable measures used for its removal by the *French*, upon whom they bestowed every degrading epithet which their indignation could suggest; telling us, also, the veneration in which the *Moslems* had always held it, and the tradition familiar to all of them respecting its origin. Indeed, this tradition had been so long established, that it is marvellous it had been so little noticed among the Academies of *Europe*[2]. Leo Africanus, long subsequent to the conquest of *Alexandria* by the *Saracens*, had recorded the tradition[3]; and *Freinshemius*, in his Supplement to *Livy*, had admitted the authority of *Leo*[4]. That it should particularly excite the attention of *Frenchmen*, is easily explained. Their own countryman, *Rollin*, had

(2) Many were misled by the words of *Juvenal*:

"Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem
"*Sarcophago* contentus erit."——

supposing the allusion to be intended rather for *Babylon*, than for *Alexandria*, where *Juvenal* had himself visited the *Tomb*.

(3) *Alexandriæ* Descript. tom. II. lib. 8. p. 677. *Elzev.* 1632.

(4) Lib. 133. tom. V. p. 637. edit. *Crevier.*

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directed their regard towards it, by countenancing the opinion and testimony of *Freinshemius*[1]. So eager were they to obtain it, that the most solemn treaty was infringed, whereby they had guarantied to the *Moslems* the inviolable possession of their sanctuaries. The *Mosque* of *St. Athanasius* was forcibly entered by a party of their pioneers, with battle-axes and hammers; and the "TOMB OF ISCANDER, FOUNDER OF THE CITY," was borne away, amidst the howling and lamentations of its votaries[2]. But we must turn our attention, at present, from the circumstances of its removal by the *French*, to pursue a narrative of events which ultimately placed in our possession a trophy, still destined, in their sanguine expectations, to grace their national *Museum*[3]. At the moment of our arrival

(1) *Rollin. vol.* V. *p.* 137.

(2) See also the communication made to Dr. *Henley*, by General *Turner*, respecting the last instance of devotion paid to the *Tomb* by many *Moslems* of distinction, at its departure from ALEXANDRIA. *Append. to Tomb of Alex. No.* II. *p.* 144.

(3) Perhaps few of our countrymen have yet attended to the language they hold upon this subject. The following extract from an account of the *French* Expedition to *Egypt*, by *Charles Norry*, architect, one of the members of the "*Société Philotechnique*," attached to the Expedition, will offer a specimen of the hopes entertained in *France* for the recovery of this valuable monument. "SANS DOUTE CE MONUMENT NOUS SERA APPORTE AU MUSEUM DE PARIS! AU MOINS EST-IL DEJA DESIGNÉ POUR L'ORNER UN JOUR" !!! See *Pellier's edit. of Denon's Voyage in Egypt, tom.* II. *Append. p.* 129. *Lond.* 1802.

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in the city, not a single individual of our army or navy, nor even in *Great Britain*, knew that the *monument* at which *Leo Africanus* had himself done homage, as a *Mahommedan*, and which had so long been venerated by *Moslems* under the remarkable appellation of the TOMB OF ALEXANDER, existed in ALEXANDRIA[4].

We then visited the person to whom our letter from *Caïro* had been addressed, respecting the communication to be made upon our arrival; and found that every information had been anticipated by the intelligence we had already received, excepting that which related to the place where this valuable relic was now deposited. This, however, they readily gave us. We were told that it was in the hold of an hospital ship, named *La Cause*, in the inner harbour; and being provided with a boat, we there found it, half filled with filth, and covered with rags of the sick people on board[5].

(4) This is evident, from the total silence respecting it in all the works published concerning *Egypt* since the campaign; neither was there any thing known concerning the history of this *monument* after it was deposited in the *British Museum*, until the period of the author's publication upon the subject in 1805.

(5) Mr. *Hamilton* afterwards saw it in the same situation. "We were conducted," says he, "alongside of a large hospital ship, on board of which was the celebrated *Alexandrian Sarcophagus*: it had

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It proved to be an immense monolithal *sarcophagus*, or, according to the name borrowed by the *Greeks* from the antient language of *Egypt*, a SOROS[1]; converted, in ages long posterior to its formation, into a *cistern*, according to a custom which has been universal in the *East*, wherever such receptacles for the dead have been discovered. The nature of the stone, and the testimonies concerning its history, have been already before the public[2]: some repetition has therefore now occurred; but to repeat the whole of a detail which was then unavoidably elaborate, would be considered not only as tedious, but altogether as a work of supererogation. The *Soros* is now placed where it is open to the observation of any one who may deem it an object of curiosity. All that the author wishes to insist upon, as conveying indisputable evidence concerning it, is the corresponding testimony afforded by the remarkable

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been for several months in the hold, and was intended to be sent to *France* the first opportunity. This monument was resigned to us not without much regret, as it had long been considered one of the most valuable curiosities in ALEXANDRIA." *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, *p.* 403. *Lond.* 1809.

(1) See *Jablonski*, *Bochart*, *Kircher*, &c.

(2) See "*The Tomb of Alexander*," as published by the author in 1805.

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nature of the conditory, with the tradition mentioned by *Leo Africanus*, and preserved among the *Moslems* to the hour of its removal[9]: a species of evidence which may fairly be deemed *internal*; because it is impossible that a set of ignorant barbarians could be aware that the object of their veneration was, in fact, that particular kind of coffin, which *Herodian*, speaking of the *Tomb of Alexander*, has designated by the term SOROS; still less that the same *Soros*, inscribed with the *sacred writing* of the *priests*, is

(9) The *Arabs* retain both the name and the æra of *Alexander* in their calendars; calling him, always, ذو القرنين *bicornis*; and *Golius* explains the true cause of this appellation. "Arabes eum *Bicornem* vocant, non tam ob partum Orientis et Occidentis imperium, quam *à cornutâ Alexandri effigie, nummis exhibitâ*, ut Jovis Ammonis filius agnosceretur." (*Vid. Annot. in lib.* ii. *Sulpit. Sever. c.* 25. *p.* 343. *Edit. Horn. L. Bat.* 1654.) The image of *Alexander*, so expressed, appears upon the medals of *Lysimachus*, and was common to many States after his death, although it is always falsely considered as the head of some other person. His image also appears very commonly covered with the spoils of a lion; when it is improperly considered as *a young Hercules*: sometimes, also, it is seen armed with a helmet, and then it is confounded with the figures of *Minerva*. *Le Brun* has been censured and ridiculed for introducing what has been called *a head of Minerva*, upon the figure of *Alexander*, in his celebrated paintings of his battles; whereas it is, in all probability, a genuine portrait of that hero. *Alexander* is thus alluded to in the *Tailor's Story* before the *Sultan* of *Casgar*, in the *Arabian Tales*. "Sir," said he, "you will be pleased to know that this day is *Friday*, the 18th of the month *Saffar*, in the year 653 from the retreat of our great Prophet from *Mecca* to *Medina*, and in the year 7320 of THE EPOCHA OF THE GREAT ISKENDER WITH TWO HORNS."

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thereby demonstrably the tomb of some person *deified* by the *Egyptians*, as *Alexander* incontestably was, after his interment [1].

In the evening of the same day, about five o'clock, we waited upon *Monsieur Le Roy, Ordonnateur de la Marine,* in consequence of receiving, by *Menou's* Aid-de-camp, an order from the *French* General to see the other *antiquities* which their army had collected to send to *France,* and which they had been compelled to surrender. This gentleman treated us with great politeness, and conducted us to some magazines near the old port: here many of the relics were then deposited which are now in our national *Museum.* A *Soros,* brought from *Grand Caïro,* was upon the beach near those magazines, together with part of another from *Upper Egypt,* ready to be shipped off, as soon as

(1) See *Lucian, vol.* I. *p.* 290. *edit. Amstelod. Blaeu.* Marcus Aurelius ALEXANDER Severus was born in a *temple sacred to Alexander the Great,* and thence received the name of *Alexander.* See also the various proofs of *Alexander's deification* adduced in the *Tomb of Alexander, Camb.* 1805; and the additional evidence of the fact, as published by Dr. *Henley,* in the Appendix to that work.—"Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός. Quandoquidem Alexander vult esse Deus, esto Deus." *Ælian. lib.* ii. *Var. Hist. cap.* 19.—See also *Vossius, de Cultu Alexandri Magni, tom.* II. *cap.* 17. *p.* 802. *Amst.* 1642, *&c.*

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an opportunity might offer. Near to these was also placed a *granite* fragment, being the hand of a colossal statue discovered by the *French* engineers upon the site of antient *Memphis*[2], and supposed to have belonged to the *Temple of Vulcan*[3]. Another fragment, exactly similar to this, is yet lying among some Ruins upon the shore to the east of *Alexandria*, believed by the *French* to denote the site of *Canopus*[4]. An intentional reserve has been carefully maintained by their writers, upon the subject of all the *antiquities* that came in our possession: on this account, the places where some of them were discovered are still unknown in this country. We saw, also, three large *Syenite* statues, each in a sitting attitude, holding the *Crux Ansata* in the left hand: these were representations of the twofold symbol worshipped by the *Egyptians*

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(2) Where the villages of *Metrahenny* and *Mohannan* are now situate.

(3) The reader will find this Colossus mentioned in the "*Rapport fait au Premier Consul Bonaparte, par le Citoyen Ripaud,*" in the Appendix to *Peltier's* edit. of *Denon's Travels in Egypt, tom.* II. *p.* 38. *Lond.* 1802. but without any specific description. Its dimensions alone are stated—"*Un Colosse d'environ trente-cinq pieds de proportion.*"

(4) It is represented, with part of a *Sphinx*, and other broken pieces of sculpture, in one of the plates belonging to the large *Paris* edition of *Denon's* Travels. *See tom.* II. *Plate* 3. "*Ruines de Canope.*"

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with a lion's head[1]. The largest statues of this form are those of *Thebes*, about four hundred miles to the south of *Caïro*[2], one of which has been commonly called *Memnon's Statue*. From the drawings made of those figures by *Denon*[3], it is plain that neither of them were represented with human heads; but that they corresponded with the double image of a human figure with a lion's head, common among the antiquities of *Egypt*; the nose and under-jaw of the *leonine* bust belonging to each of them having fallen off, but the rest of the head being similar to that which appeared upon the statues here shewn to us by *Monsieur Le Roy*, and since removed to our national *Museum*[4]. This is so evident, that it is remarkable none of the travellers who have visited *Thebes* have paid attention to the fact. They were perhaps misled, by expecting to find the image of a human form, as belonging to the supposed statue of

(1) See the Plate representing Antiquities found at *Saccâra*.

(2) According to *Norden*, 405 miles, who makes the distance equal to 135 *French* leagues. *See Drawings of some Ruins, &c. published by the Royal Society in* 1741, *p.* 9.

(3) See Plate 44 of the large *Paris* edition of the *Voyage en Egypte par Vivant Denon*.

(4) See also the Plate of the Antiquities found at *Saccâra*, as before referred to.

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Memnon. Indeed *Norden*, in the design he made upon the spot, as appears by the etching he afterwards engraved from it[5], has attempted a faint delineation of the human countenance, by introducing an imperfect restoration of the features, as they were suggested to his imagination by the appearance of the stone. *Pococke* used still greater freedom[6]; but *Denon* accurately delineated the figures as he found them. According to his plate, there is not the smallest trace left of any human countenance; and the back of the head, in each statue, agrees with those figures which have the *leonine* bust. *Strabo*, who was himself at *Thebes*, and mentions these colossal statues, does not say that either of them was a statue of *Memnon*; but that they were near the *Memnonium*; and that a sound issued every day from one of them[7].

Within the magazine we saw many other

(5) See *Norden's* Etchings, tab. I. as before cited. *Lond.* 1741.

(6) *Pococke's* Observations upon *Egypt*.

(7) *Strabon. Geogr. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1155. *Ed. Oxon.* The observation of *Strabo* may remove the difficulty that has always attended any endeavour to reconcile the statue from which the sound issued with that of an actual statue of MEMNON. *Memnonis saxea effigies*, as mentioned by *Tacitus*. The persons who heard the sound might attribute that sound to *Memnon*, without considering the statue to be a statue of him.

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antiquities; particularly the head of a colossal image of the *Ram*, or of AMMON, whose name and worship, derived from *Æthiopia*[1], became a source of the most absurd and fabulous history among the *Greeks*[1]. Also, two oblong slabs of stone, adorned with *hieroglyphical* sculpture, together with an *Egyptian* coffin of stone, adapted to the human form; and the fragment of a *Soros*; both brought from *Upper Egypt*. Also other antiquities, the description of which might afford very pleasing employment: but a volume, rather than a chapter, would be required for the undertaking; and all these relics are now under the guardianship of

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(1) See *Vossius de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib.* ii. *c.* 11. *Amst.* 1642. *Kircher Œdip. Ægypt. Synt.* 3. *cap.* 6. *Rom.* 1652. *Pauw Philos. Disc. part.* iii. *sect.* 7. *Lond.* 1795, &c. &c. The reader may also consult DIODORUS, and the *Æthiopica of* HELIODORUS. *Kircher* has cited a very remarkable communication, made to him by an *Abyssinian*, upon this curious subject, which he has thus translated into *Latin*: "*Quoniam à me petiisti tibi dicere aliquid de Diis Æthiopum. Noveris quòd patres nostri cum Gentilibus et Paganis passim commiscerentur, inceperunt discere opera eorum; et fecerunt sibi Deos privatos, et adoraverunt eos, sculpturam manu hominis perfectam. . . . . Et ego adhuc multa in Æthiopia in Barnagasch hujusmodi vidi; erant autem magnâ ex parte referentia caput Leonis et Arietis; nomen eorum*, Amuna."

(2) "Planè ridiculum est, velle *Ammonis* nomen petere à Græcis: cùm Ægyptii ipsi 'Αμοῦν appellent, teste etiam Herodoto." *Vossius de Orig. &c. Idolat. lib.* ii. *c.* 11. *tom.* I. *p.* 362. *Amst.* 1642. The name of the Supreme Being among the *Brahmins* of *India* is the first syllable only of this word, pronounced AM.

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scholars amply qualified to satisfy the public curiosity concerning their history. At the house of General *Friant*, we were afterwards shewn two statues of white *marble*; one of *Marcus Aurelius*, and the other of *Septimius Severus*, which are also now in *England*.

The next morning, *September* the eleventh, another *French* officer attended us, in company with Mr. *Hamilton*, to the *Obelisks*, commonly called *Cleopatra's Needles*. One alone is now standing; the other, lying down, measures seven feet square at the base, and sixty-six feet in length. They are so well known, that it is not necessary to give a very particular description of them[2]. They are covered with

(2) After the *English* were in possession of *Alexandria*, a subscription was opened among the officers of the army and navy, for the purpose of removing the cumbent *Obelisk* to *Great Britain*. With the money thus raised they purchased one of the vessels that *Menou* had sunk in the old port of *Alexandria*: this they raised, and prepared for its reception. The work went on rapidly; the *Obelisk* was turned, and its lower surface was found to be in a high state of preservation. It was then moved, by means of machinery constructed for the purpose, towards the vessel prepared to receive it. Lord *Cavan* presided in this undertaking. A naval officer, Captain *Stephenson*, who was present upon the occasion, brought over to *England* the plans projected for conveying this splendid trophy of the success of our arms to the *Metropolis* of this country; and there is every reason to believe the design would have been accomplished. Its interruption took place in consequence of an order preventing the sailors from assisting at the work.

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hieroglyphics, cut to the depth of two inches into the stone, which consists of red *granite*; but, owing to a partial decomposition of the *feldspar*, its red colour has faded towards the surface. A similar decomposition has frequently hastened the decay of other antient monuments; and it offers proof of a fact worthy the notice of persons employed in national architecture; namely, that *granite* is less calculated for works of duration, than pure homogeneous *marble*, or common *limestone*. The action of the atmosphere conduces to the hardness and durability of the two latter; but it never fails to corrode and to decompose substances where *feldspar* is a constituent. Examples may be adduced of *marble*, after continual exposure to air and moisture during two thousand years, still retaining the original polish upon its surface unaltered; but *granite*, under similar circumstances, has not only undergone alteration, but, in certain cases, has crumbled, and fallen into the form of gravel, owing to the decomposition of the *feldspar*. Instances of such disintegration may be noticed among the ruins of *Alexandria Troas*, and over all the district of *Troas* in general. Some of the *granite* columns used by the *Turks* in the fabrication of their cannon-balls have been found in such a state of decompo-

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sition, that, although sufficiently compact to admit of their receiving a spheroïdal form, yet, when fired at our ships, the substance shivered, and flew about in small pieces, like canister shot, proving a very destructive species of ammunition[1].

Pompey's Pillar.

We were now desirous of visiting the stupendous Column so long distinguished by the appellation of "POMPEY'S PILLAR." It is visible from almost every spot in the neighbourhood of *Alexandria.* The *Inscription* upon its pedestal (containing, as many have believed, the name of the Emperor *Diocletian*) was not then known to exist, although it had been mentioned by the Consul *Maillet*[2], and after him by *Pococke*[3]. The circumstances of our visit may therefore be deemed curious; as Mr. *Hamilton* was one of our party, who afterwards assisted in the development of this important record, and who himself discovered the name, believed to be

(1) The author has specimens of this decomposed *granite*, which the *Turks* employed against our fleet, during its passage of the *Dardanelles*, under Admiral *Duckworth*. The *feldspar* has entirely lost its colour; and the mass is become friable, like loosely cohering *breccia*. The *Strand* Bridge is built of a decomposed *granite*.

(2) Décr. de *l'Egypte*, tome I. p. 180. *à la Haye*, 1740.

(3) Descr. of the East, vol. I. p. 8. *Lond.* 1748.

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that of *Diocletian*, soon after the *Inscription* was again recognised[1]. When we had gratified our curiosity by a general survey of this surprising monument, and had gazed for some time in utter astonishment at the sight of a column of *granite*, whose *shaft* alone, of one entire mass, with a diameter of eight feet, measures sixty-three in height[2], Mr. *Hamilton* expressed a wish to find something remaining of the *Inscription* mentioned by *Pococke*. In search of this, we examined the four sides of the *pedestal*: the western side seemed to be corroded, as many authors have described it to be; but not a trace of any existing *inscription* could be discerned. The author wishes to lay some stress upon this singular fact, that due merit may be attributed to those who have since so remarkably recovered the characters of that *Inscription*; after it had also baffled every research of the *French*, during their long residence in the country, as their own writers do acknowledge[3]. Mr.

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(1) Mr. *Hamilton* communicated this circumstance in a Letter to the author.

(2) The height of the whole column, including the capital, shaft, and pedestal, is eighty-eight feet six inches, as measured by the *French* engineers.

(3) See particularly the "*Rapport par Charles Norry*," in the Appendix to *Peltier*'s edition of *Denon*'s Travels, (*Lond.* 1802.) as it was read

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Hamilton, who participated the labour, has since published an account of the transaction: but the person to whom the literary world has been exclusively indebted for *first* making known the actual existence of the *Inscription*, after its supposed disappearance, has never yet been mentioned as the discoverer of it, in any of the publications that have appeared upon the subject. At the time of our visit, it was considered not merely as illegible, but altogether as lost; neither Mr. *Hamilton*, nor the author, nor any other individual of our party, being able to discern even the part of the pedestal where it had been inscribed. This may serve to explain the difficulty which afterwards attended its recovery, when a whole day was frequently required for the purpose of obtaining a single letter. Mr. *Hamilton* arrived in *Alexandria*, as it has been related by him[4], after the *Inscription* had been found, and the undertaking for copying it had been begun. He himself assisted in making a *fac-simile* of it; and it was he, as was before stated, who observed the letters which

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read before the *Institute*. "It is greatly to be regretted," says *Norry*, "that an inscription formerly placed on one of the sides of the pedestal should be no longer legible."

(4) *Ægyptiaca*, *p.* 403. *Lond.* 1809.

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are now believed to complete the name of the Emperor *Diocletian*. There is, indeed, good reason to conjecture that *Diocletian*'s name is mentioned in that *Inscription*; but it by no means necessarily follows that the pillar was erected by him; and some reasons will be given in the sequel to shew that the legend admits of a different, although a doubtful, reading. At present, in justice to the memory of a distinguished, but now lamented officer, it is necessary to prove that all the information afforded by the *Inscription* itself would have been consigned to everlasting oblivion, but for the important discovery made by the late Lieutenant-colonel *Squire* of some remaining characters upon the pedestal, while Mr. *Hamilton*, and his companion, Major *Leake*, were in *Upper Egypt*[1].

Discovery of the Inscription.

(1) This circumstance is mentioned in a Letter to his Brother, in the following words: "I believe the Paper presented to the Antiquarian Society contains the *best* history of the discovery of the *Alexandrian* Inscription" (*alluding to the misrepresentations published upon the subject by Colonel Walsh and Sir R. Wilson*). "I wish not to be brought forward in any literary dispute; but the fact is, that most of the letters were discovered by me while Messrs. *Hamilton* and *Leake* were in *Upper Egypt*. I had seen the same *Inscription* in *Pococke*'s Travels before, and knew of its existence from that book. The next Extract is taken from a former Letter written by Colonel *Squire* to his Brother, from *Alexandria*: it relates to his discovery of the *Inscription*; and is dated *Alexandria, Christmas Day*, 1801. "Here let me remark," says Colonel *Squire*, "that it is not impossible but that part of

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Therefore, whatsoever may be the nature of the intelligence derived from any subsequent examination of those characters, it will be due in the first place to the individual who made known the circumstance of their existence; for not only the Members of the *French Institute*, but all who were with our army in *Egypt*, and almost every traveller who has visited *Alexandria* since the time of *Pococke*, did consider the *Inscription* as being entirely lost.

As for the Column itself, the *shaft* is of much earlier antiquity than either the *capital* or the *pedestal*. A similar *shaft*, of the same kind of *granite*, and nearly of equal magnitude, has been

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of the *Inscription* on the great pillar may be read: ΠΙ and Ο are legible enough; and by other remains of characters, *I can plainly perceive that the Inscription consisted of four lines, in Greek. With sulphur, an impression of these characters might be taken*, and perhaps something satisfactory discovered. *Before we quit the country, I will certainly endeavour to make the experiment.*"

The public will therefore perceive that all idea of attempting the discovery is due to Colonel SQUIRE; that *he* had the greatest share in its execution, and that even the device of the *sulphur* is due to *him*. The Consul *Maillet*, about fifty years before, had recommended *wax* for the same purpose: "*Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'au bas de son fût, du côté de l'ouest, on trouve une inscription Grecque, dont je ne croix pas qu'on ait encore tiré de copie. . . . . Le seul moyen de l'avoir, seroit, à mon avis, d'en prendre l'empreinte sur de la cire molle.*" Déscription de l'*Egypte*, tom. I. p. 180. *à la Haye*, 1740.

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already described [1] among the ruins of another city, built also by the founder of *Alexandria*; remaining, like this, alone, without any contiguous architecture serving to prove that a pillar of such vast dimensions belonged to any temple, colonnade, or other edifice of the antient city. It was before suggested, in the account given of that remarkable relic, that each of these columns may have supported a statue: but this notion of the use of a single pillar is not found to be warranted by any evidence on which we can rely. It is certain that some conspicuous relic was placed upon the *capital* of the *Alexandrian* Column; a *circular cavity* having been there discovered, proving that there was formerly a projection for its support [2]. A question then naturally arises; Whether the antient inhabitants of *Asia Minor*, of *Egypt*, and of *Greece*, were accustomed to use *pillars* for other purposes than those of architecture? This question

(1) See Chap. VI. of the *Third* Volume of these Travels, pp. 188, 189. Octavo Edition.

(2) *Norry* describes a *circular cavity*, two inches deep, upon the summit; "which," says he, "gives reason to suppose that there has formerly been a projection on the top for supporting *a statue*; but this is merely conjecture." (*See "Rapport," &c. as before cited.*) However, we have reason for more than conjecture upon this subject, as will be manifest in the sequel; not indeed that *a statue* was here placed, whose pedestal would hardly have been *circular*, but a *cinerary urn*, for the *foot* of which a circular cavity is peculiarly suitable.

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may be decidedly answered in the affirmative. The *Stélæ* of the Antients had precisely the form of the shaft of this Column; although no instance has yet been observed of a *sepulchral pillar* of such magnitude. Indeed, until lately, the *Stélæ* themselves had been remarkably overlooked: they were as so many stumbling-blocks to antiquaries; and nothing puzzled literary travellers more than the numerous examples of small pillars of *granite*, *porphyry*, and *marble*, scattered over the shores of the *Ægean Sea:* these were found generally in the vicinity of *tombs*, or near to the walls of cities where *tombs* were situate; being always insulated, and generally without capitals or pedestals. The *Turks*, imitating the customs of their predecessors, have introduced them into their cœmeteries. Now and then a modern structure exhibits several *stélæ* of different sizes, collected together, and made to serve as props for the building: in such instances, *capitals* and *pedestals*, in barbarous taste, and of various materials, have been added to them. Remains of this kind may be discerned in some of the edifices erected in the lower ages of the *Roman* Empire. Possibly, then, this pillar, stupendous as it is, was erected upon some memorable occasion, as a *sepulchral monument*. A few observations will

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soon shew whether this *possible* illustration of its origin be also *probable:* nay more; whether we have not strong presumptive evidence, to prove, that a monument of this form was actually erected in this place, and for the purpose of a *stélé* or *sepulchral pillar.*

After a vain search for the *Inscription,* we observed that the pedestal itself did not rest upon the sand; but that, by removing some of this, we might get beneath it, and examine the manner of its support. Here, to our surprise, we found that the whole of this immense pile, consisting of three parts, *pedestal, shaft,* and *capital,* was sustained upon a small prop of stone, about four feet square, exactly as it is described by *Paul Lucas*[1], although positively contradicted by *Norden*[2]. Around this central base, but in very irregular positions, had been placed other masses, the fragments of antient *Egyptian* monuments, which did not appear to contribute to the support of the Column, but to have been brought thither for the purpose of maintaining the *prop* in its adjusted situation until the *pedestal* could be

(1) Voyage fait par Ordre de *Louis* XIV. en 1714. tom. II. p. 23. *Amst.* 1744.

(2) Travels in *Egypt* and *Nubia,* vol. I. p. 16. *Lond.* 1757.

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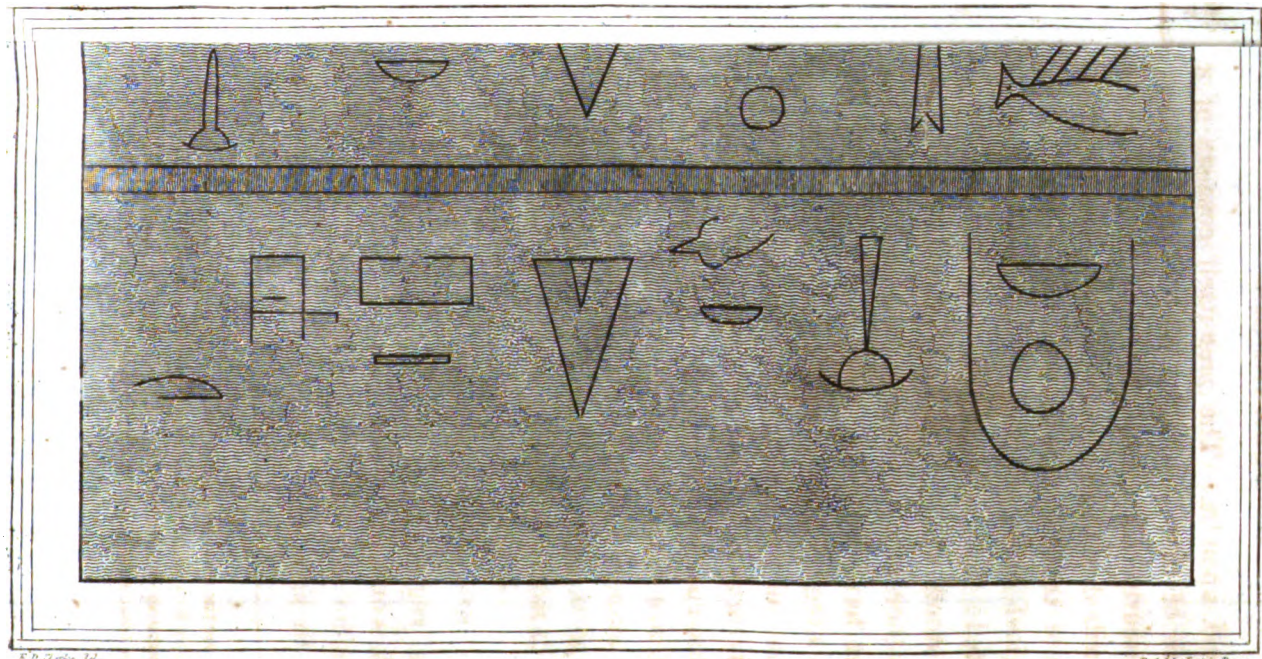

E.D. Clarke Del.

Etch.d by Letitia Byrne.

Inverted position of the hieroglyphics seen on the sides of the square breccia pivot under the pedestal of Pompey's Pillar.

Published Nov.r 15. 1815. by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand. London.

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raised upon it. The *prop* itself consists of a mass of that beautiful kind of *breccia*, called, peculiarly, *Egyptian*. The four sides of it are inscribed with *hieroglyphic* figures; but the position of these figures shews that the *prop* has its original base uppermost, for they appear inverted: thus affording a complete proof, that the stone, whereon they are inscribed, belonged to other more antient works; and that these must have been in ruins before the *Column* was erected upon its present basis[3]. But this is not all the intelligence we derive from the topsyturvy position of the *hieroglyphics:* we have, in this curious circumstance, most satisfactory evidence that this *Column* was not set up, as it now stands, either by the antient inhabitants of *Egypt*, or by the people of *Alexandria* under the PTOLEMIES; for nothing would be more absurd, than to suppose that, in an age when *Egyptian* superstitions were revered, and the *hieroglyphics* were regarded as sacred, such sacrilegious work would have been tolerated, as the burying of the holy images and symbols, *pell-mell*, to prop and to support a *Corinthian* pillar, even if it

(3) See the *Plate* annexed, where those *hieroglyphics* are represented, according to a design which the author made of them upon the spot, as accurately as the difficulty of the situation, and the imperfect state of those rude symbols, would admit.

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could be admitted that such an order of architecture then existed. Hence it is manifest, without further inquiry, that this monument, as it now appears, must be attributed entirely to the *Romans*; since the warmest advocates for the arts and ingenuity of the *Arabs* will not venture to ascribe a work of this kind to the *Moslems*, in any period of their history. This is nearly all the intelligence we can obtain concerning it. The *Inscription* upon the pedestal, as its characters were obtained in consequence of Colonel *Squire*'s discovery, gives us no information as to the origin of the *Column*, although it may throw some light upon its restoration under its present form. The only visible part of the legend is as follows[1]:

ΤΟ . . . . . ΩΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑC
ΔΙΟ . . . . ΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝ . . . . .ΤΟΝ
ΠΟ . . . . . .ΕΠΑΡΧΟCΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
. . . . . .

In the third line, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh letters, being indistinct, were supplied by dotted characters[2], in order to complete a

(1) See the communication made by Dr. *Raine* to the Society of *Antiquaries*, as read before the Society, Feb. 3, 1803.

(2) According to the plan pursued by *Taylor*, when he added the letters supposed to be wanted in the *Marmor Sandvicense*.

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supposed reading of ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ. But this introduction of the name of a *Roman* Emperor, without an *epithet* immediately preceding it, is unusual; and when letters are thus to be added by conjecture, or in consequence of some imaginary resemblance, in the indistinct traces of the original *legend*, to the characters which have been substituted, every person is at liberty to make his own hypothesis; provided only that a reading be produced which shall contain exactly the number of letters requisite to fill the vacant spaces upon the stone. For example, the perpendicular line of the dotted Κ, as proposed in the paper read to the Society of Antiquaries[3], may with equal authority be written Ν. The two lines of the Λ may also belong to Α. The cross bar of the Η may be the lower line of Δ, and the Τ may with equal probability be written Ρ; and when this is granted, the reading becomes, evidently, ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ. The use of ΔΙΟΣ, as an epithet, answering to DIVVS, so frequently bestowed upon *Roman* Emperors, and especially upon *Hadrian*[4], although authorised in this sense

(3) See Dr. *Raine's* communication, as above.

(4) Sic passim. "UT DIVUS HADRIANUS in quadam oratione ait," &c. (*Ulpianus, lib.* 50. *Dig. tit.* 15. *de Censibus, &c. &c.*) IMP · CAESARI · DIVI · HADRIANI · &c. *Donii Inscript. Antiq. ab Goroi. Classis tertia, No.*16. *See also Nos.* 17, 18, *&c. Florent.* 1731.

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by *Hesiod* and by *Homer*, is perhaps unknown in *Greek* prose. *Hadrian* was called, by the *Greeks*[1], both ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ and ΘΕΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ. The epithet Διος was consequently appropriate[2]; and the more so, as it was poetical; the language of poetry being often adopted in *Greek* inscriptions, which are very commonly written in metre[3]. At the same time, it must be confessed that there is this powerful objection to the reading now proposed; that among all the epithets applied to *Roman* Emperors, which are preserved by *Gronovius*, *Goltzius*, *Gorius*, *Muratori*, *Vaillant*, *Harduin*, and *Eckhel*, there is not an example where Διος is thus used. In this uncertainty with regard to the four letters which immediately follow ΔΙΟ in this *Inscription*, it must remain for some future

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(1) See *Muratori's* "*Thesaur. Vet. Inscript.*" *tom.* II. *p.* MLIX. *No.* 2.; *p.* MLXVI. *No.* 4.; *p.* MLXXVIII. *No.* 7. *&c. Mediolani.* 1740. *Harduin. Num. Antiq. p.* 329. *Paris*, 1684. Also *Vaillant. Num. Imp. pp.* 34, 36. *L. Par.* 1698. *Spanheim* mentions an *Athenian* medal with this inscription to *Hadrian*: ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ · ΣΩΤΗΡΑ · ΤΟΝ · ΕΤΕΡΤΕΤΗΝ · *De Præstantiâ et Usu Num. p.* 384. *Amst.* 1671.

(2) The Bishop of *Clogher*, in his Essay on the "*Origin of Hieroglyphics, and on the Heathen Mythology*," *p.* 116. *Lond.* 1753. has the following observation. "In Greek, the word Δῖος signifies the same as the word *Divus* among the Latins; that is, *a divine person*."

(3) Such inscriptions are commonly found in *Asia Minor*, and among the ruins of *Paphos* in *Cyprus*; also in the Island of RHODES. *See Part* II. *Sect.* I. *of these Travels*; *vol.* III. *chap.* 8. *Octavo edition.*

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traveller to determine what the true reading really is. The *probability* is certainly strong for ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ, but this is by no means certain; and in favour of ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ, it may be urged, that *Sicard*, as cited by *Brotier*[4], who examined the Inscription long ago, declared the fourth letter to be N, instead of K. In order to account for the introduction of *Diocletian*'s name, the *supposed* gratitude of the people of *Alexandria* to *Diocletian*, for an allowance of corn, has been mentioned[5]; but there is no authority in History, either for the tribute itself, or for the feelings thereby believed to have been commemorated. *Hadrian*, on the contrary, for the services he rendered to their city, was pre-eminently entitled to their gratitude. This is evident, from his own observations, when

(4) *Sicard* believed the name to be that of *Dionysius Ptolemæus*, brother of *Cleopatra*, by whose order *Pompey* was assassinated. "Serapeum fuit in vico, cui nomen Necropolis, prope *Columnam Pompeii*, ut vulgo loquuntur; quam verius columnam *Dionysii Ptolemæi* dicerent, ut ex semesis inscriptiones literis observavit *P. Sicard* egregius Ægyptiacarum antiquitatum indagator." *(Vid. Brotier. Annot. in Tacit. Hist. lib.* iv. *cap.* 84.) The circumstance of *Sicard*'s maintaining that the name at the beginning of the third line of the *Inscription* was DIONYSIUS, &c. proves, at least, that he read ΔΙΟΝ, and not ΔΙΟΚ.

(5) "The occasion may perhaps be found in that part of the history of this Emperor, where, *after having severely chastised the inhabitants of Alexandria who had rebelled against the government*, he established a public allowance of corn for the city at two millions of medimni. *See the Memoir read to the Society of Antiquaries, Feb.* 3, 1803, *as before cited.*

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speaking of *Alexandria*[1]: "HUIC EGO CUNCTA CONCESSI, VETERA PRIVILEGIA REDDIDI, NOVA SIC ADDIDI, UT PRÆSENTI GRATIAS AGERENT." *Hadrian*, according to *Dio Cassius*, performed funeral rites to POMPEY[2]. *Julius Cæsar* had done the same[3]; and it is related, both by *Lucan*[4] and by *Valerius Maximus*[5], that when the head of POMPEY was brought to him in *Alexandria*, he caused it to be burned with odours and the most solemn rites, and its ashes to be enshrined within *an urn*[6]. It sometimes was customary with the *Romans* to place their *cinerary urns* in conspicuous situations, upon the pinnacles of lofty and magnificent monuments. The famous *Cone*, or *Pine-apple*, of gilded bronze, preserved in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and originally placed

Sepulchral origin of the Column.

(1) *Epistola Hadriani Aug. Serviano Cos. Ægypt.* Vid. *Vopisc. in Saturnino, p.* 245.

(2) *Dio Cass.* Hist. Rom. lib. lxix. vol. II. p. 1159. *Hamb.* 1750.

(3) Ibid. lib. xlii. c. 8. vol. I. p. 310.

(4) De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. ad fin.

(5) "Caput autem plurimis et pretiosissimis odoribus cremandum curavit." *Valerii Maximi, lib.* v. *p.* 246. *Paris*, 1679.

(6) "Et placate caput, cineresque in litore fusos
Colligite, atque unam sparsis date manibus urnam."
Lucani De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. 1092. *Lips.* 1726.

Fabricius, in his Notes to *Dio Cassius* (*lib.* xlii. *Note* 50.) mentions an antient gem, the subject of which represented the bringing of *Pompey's head* to CÆSAR. "*Icon oblati Cæsari capitis Pompeii in veteri gemmâ apud Licetum*," p. 248.

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upon the *Mausoleum* of *Hadrian*, was perhaps intended to contain the ashes of that Emperor: and in the examination of the *Alexandrian Column*, we find the extraordinary coincidences, first, of the workmanship, which is decidedly *Roman*; secondly, of its form, which is that of a *Stélé* or *sepulchral pillar*; thirdly, of a circular cavity discovered upon its capital, as for the reception of *an urn*; all agreeing with its remarkable traditionary appellation of POMPEY'S PILLAR. Some little variety, as might be expected, appears in the accounts given by writers of different ages, with regard to the manner in which funeral honours were rendered to *Pompey's head* by JULIUS CÆSAR. *Lucan*'s allusion to *an urn* is however consistent with the *Roman* custom of *burning* instead of *burying* the dead; and it is supported by the earlier testimony of *Valerius Maximus*. APPIAN, who flourished during the subsequent reigns of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, says the head was *buried*; but he adds the remarkable fact of a *shrine* constructed over it[7], in a situation

(7) Τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηΐου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καί τι αὐτῇ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ βραχὺ, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν, ΝΕΜΕΣΕΩΣ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ἐκαλεῖτο· ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν, ἐξελλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρείφθη. "*Caput* autem *Pompeii* oblatum aversatur *Cæsar*, sepeliri

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exactly answering to that of this *pillar*, which *Cæsar* dedicated to *Nemesis*, the protecting goddess of the relics and the memory of deceased persons. This, it seems, was overthrown in the time of *Trajan*; which may explain the cause of its restoration by *Hadrian*. It is also worthy of notice, that *Pococke* mentions a name given to this monument by *Arabian* historians, which bears testimony to the event recorded by *Appian*; inasmuch as it attributes the origin of the work to *Julius Cæsar*[1]. The presumptive evidence is therefore somewhat striking, as to the corresponding testimony borne by the monument itself to the funeral honours rendered to POMPEY both by *Julius Cæsar* and by *Hadrian*, whatsoever be the legend of the *Inscription* upon its pedestal. A circumstance recorded by *Dio Cassius*, in his life of *Hadrian*, may also prove that this kind of monument was, in the age of that Emperor, no unusual mark of sepulchral dignity; for when he wished to honour

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sepeliri jussit in suburbis, *sacellumque* ibi dedicavit *Nemeseos*; quod nostrâ ætate, quùm Trajanus Augustus Judæos exitiali bello persequeretur, ab his ob præsentem necessitatem est dirutum." *Appiani Rom. Hist. De Bell. Civil. lib.* ii. *vol.* II. *p.* 299. *Ed. Schweigh. Lips.* 1785.

(1) "Some *Arabian* historians, on what *authority* I know not, call it the PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR." (*Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol.* I. *p.* 8. *Lond.* 1743.) The authority is clearly found in the circumstance related by *Appian (De Bell. Civil. lib.* ii. *c.* 90. *Lips.* 1785.) *of the shrine* (νάμος) constructed by *Julius Cæsar* at the funeral of *Pompey's head*.

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his horse *Borysthenes* with funeral rites worthy of a deceased hero, it is related that he set up a *Stélé* upon his tomb[2].

From the different accounts given by historians of the disposal of *Pompey's* remains, (his *head* being honoured with funeral rites at *Alexandria*[3], and his *body*, according to some writers, burned and buried near *Pelusium*[4], while others maintain that its ashes were conveyed to *Rome*[5],) the place of his *sepulchre* is involved in uncertainty[6]; but every thing connected with the historical evidence touching the funeral rites offered to his memory by *Roman* Emperors in *Alexandria*, is clear and decisive; and when *Dio Cassius* relates that *Hadrian*, in a copy of verses which he composed, boasted he had repaired

(2) Καὶ ὁ Βερυσθένης ὁ ἵππος, ᾧ μάλιστα ἡρέσκετο, σημεῖόν ἐστιν. ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ΣΤΗΛΗΝ ἔστησε καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπέγραψεν. *Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. vol.* II. *lib.* lxix. *p.* 1159. *Hamburg.* 1750.

(3) *Appian.* De Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. 90. *Lips.* 1785. *Valerius Maximus.* *Lucan.* De Bell. Civil. lib. ix. *Lips.* 1726.

(4) *Strabon.* Geog. tom. II. lib. xvi. p. 1081. lib. xvii. p. 1130. *Ed. Oxon.* 1807. *Dio. Cassii,* lib. xlii. c. 5. vol. I. p. 309. *Hamburg.* 1750. *Appiani Alex.* De Bellis Civil. lib. ii. p. 481. *Par.* 1592. *Lucan.* De Bell. Civil. lib. viii, &c.

(5) Τὰ δὲ λείψανα τοῦ Πομπηΐου Κορνηλία δεξαμένη κομισθέντα, ἔτρεψε τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἵππον. *Plutarch. in Vit. Pomp. Par.* 1624.

(6) "Atque erit Ægyptos populis fortasse nepotum
Tam mendax Magni tumulo, quam Creta Tonantis."
LUCANI *De Bell. Civil. lib.* viii. *p.* 871. *Lips.* 1726.

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the monument formerly raised to POMPEY[1], it is probable that he alluded to this *sepulchral pillar;* bearing, besides its traditionary name, the marks of *restoration,* and the most characteristic features of the purpose for which it was erected.

A few remarks, with regard to the rest of the *Inscription,* will conclude the whole of our observations upon this magnificent and interesting monument.

The epithet at the conclusion of the third line could not be ascertained at the time the *Inscription* was again recognised[2]; but there appeared to be five characters wanted. These five characters have been ingeniously supplied by a

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(1) Καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ ἀνῳκοδόμησεν. (*Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. lib.* lxix. *vol.* II. *Hamburg.* 1750.) It should at the same time be observed, that *Spartian,* c. 14. together with *Appian,* and some other writers, speak of a *restoration,* by *Hadrian,* of *Pompey's sepulchre,* at *Pelusium,* near *Mount Cassius;* that is to say, the sepulchre of *his body:* the information concerning which, as derived from the Antients, is not only uncertain, but contradictory. But *Appian* also mentions another distinct sepulchral τίμημα, erected over the *head of Pompey* at *Alexandria* by *Julius Cæsar.* This was ruined in the time of *Trajan;* and it is to the restoration of this monument, by *Hadrian,* which *Dio Cassius* seems to allude, under the words μνῆμα αὐτοῦ.

(2) See the Paper read to the Society of *Antiquaries,* Feb. 3, 1803.

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learned friend of the author[3], for they are evidently the first five letters of the word CEBACTON. The Præfect's name, at the beginning of the fourth line, was supposed[4] to be Πομπηΐος; but the third letter is found to be C, and not M, and it was thus read by *Pococke*, many years before[5]. Having therefore ΠΟC, we may read ΠΟCTOMOC. This name is found in *Gruter*, in several instances, written *Postumus*[6]. It occurs in an inscription discovered upon an edifice which contains the famous Zodiac at *Dendera* in *Upper Egypt*[7], as the name of a Præfect who lived under *Augustus*. We have, moreover, in the *Dendera Inscription*, a sort of *formula*, enabling us to supply the last line, which is entirely wanted. We there read the

(3) The Rev. *George Adam Browne*, M.A. Fellow of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*, the intimate friend of the late Professor *Porson*, and of Dr. *Raine*, late of the *Charter House*. Mr. *Browne* also proposed the substitution of Ποστομος for Πομπηΐος, in the fourth line.

(4) See Paper mentioned in Note (2).

(5) See *Pococke*'s copy of the Inscription. *Description of the East*, *vol.* I. *p.* 8. *Note* (*d*). *Lond.* 1743.

(6) See *Gruter*. Inscript. 113. 1.—172. 10, &c. &c. *Amst.* 1707.

(7) See *Denon*, *Hamilton*, &c. The Inscription was also copied by several of our officers who came with the *Indian* army to *Egypt*. It is there written *Marcus Clodius Postumus*. *Denon* wrote the name ΠΟCTOTMO .

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words ΟΙΑΠΟΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, "*The People of the Metropolis.*" Upon the whole, then, that has been before adduced, and with the aid of the document alluded to, it is proposed to read the *Inscription* upon POMPEY'S PILLAR in the following manner; the Reader being left to use his own judgment as to the introduction of *Hadrian*'s name, or that of *Diocletian*, in the third line. We have rather preferred the former, for the reasons already given.

ΤΟΝΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΙΟΥΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑC
ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝCEBACTON
ΠΟCΤΟΜΟCΕΠΑΡΧΟCΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΟΙΑΠΟΤΗCΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

"POSTUMUS PRÆFECT OF EGYPT, AND THE PEOPLE OF THE METROPOLIS, ('*honour*') THE MOST REVERED EMPEROR, THE PROTECTING DIVINITY OF ALEXANDRIA, THE DIVINE HADRIAN AUGUSTUS."

Interview with *Menou*.

In the forenoon of this day, the author waited upon General *Menou*, requesting a passport, that might enable him to pass and repass the outer gate, to and from the *British* camp; and at the

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same time made application for permission to copy the *Inscriptions* upon the *Rosetta Tablet*, which was still carefully concealed. One of the Aid-de-Camps conducted him into a small tent, pitched in a spacious area, or square, near the inner gates of *Alexandria*, where the parade of the garrison was daily held. This tent, small as it was, had been separated into two parts by a curtain, behind which *Menou* had his *Charem*; giving audience in the outer part, near to the entrance, where there was hardly room enough to stand upright. Having waited some time, during which women's voices were heard in conversation behind the partition, the curtain was suddenly raised, and *Jaques Abd'allah* made his appearance. A more grotesque figure can hardly be conceived. He wore a flowered embroidered waistcoat, with flaps almost to his knees, and a coat covered with broad lace. Elevating his whiskered face and double chin, in order to give all imaginable pomp and dignity to his squat corpulent figure, which, covered with finery, much resembled that of a mountebank, he demanded, in an imperious tone of voice, "*Que souhaite-t-il, Monsieur Clarke?*" Having explained the cause of the visit, as far as it related to the passport, and being directed to apply for this to

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Réné, General of Brigade, the author ventured to introduce the subject of the *Rosetta Stone*; stating, that he was about to return to Lord *Hutchinson*, and wished to obey the orders he had received from his Lordship, for copying the *Inscription*. At the very mention of this Stone, *Menou* gave vent to his rage; and, ready to burst with choler, exclaimed, "You may tell your Commander-in-chief he has as much right to make this demand, as a highwayman has to ask for my purse! He has a cannon in each of my ears, and another in my mouth; let him take what pleases him. I have a few embroidered saddles, and a tolerable stock of shirts; perhaps he may fancy some of these!" The author assured him that he could be the bearer of no message of this kind; but whatever he might think proper to put in writing, should be carefully conveyed, and as punctually delivered. Having left the tent, and waited upon General *Réné* for the passport, while this was preparing[1], a note came from *Menou* for Lord *Hutchinson*. With this note the author and his companions set out for the *English* camp; and arriving at

(1) See a copy of the original, in the *Appendix*.

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head-quarters, presented it to his Lordship, making known, at the same time, all that had transpired concerning the SOROS from the *Mosque of St. Athanasius*, together with the intelligence which had been obtained with regard to the other antiquities. To *Menou*'s note his Lordship disdained making any reply; transmitting only a verbal message, cautioning him to beware of sending any more messages or letters to him, but to obey the conditions proposed for the surrender of *Alexandria*, upon pain of having not only his own baggage, but that of all the officers of the *French* army, submitted to an examination. All the *Antiquities*, without reservation, were to be delivered to the *English*; and to this demand was added an order for the collection of specimens belonging to *Natural History*, and whatsoever other *literary* acquisition had been made in *Egypt* for the *French* Nation. His Lordship directed that the most diligent inquiry should be made concerning every thing of this nature[2]: and having given orders for a supply

(2) The following *Inscription* was found by a private of the 42d Regiment, upon a Stone which he discovered in the entrenchments of the *English* army. The author is indebted for this copy of it to Colonel *Draper*. A part of the same Inscription is also preserved in Colonel *Squire*'s MS. Journal. The stone was very large, and the *Inscription*

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of provisions to accompany us upon our return, offered the use of his horses while we remained

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Inscription appeared in *two* parts, upon different sides of it. The division has, therefore, been marked by stars. The *Arabic* numeral 7 can have nothing to do with the second part; its meaning is therefore unknown.

IMP. CÆSARI
I. SEPTIMIO SEVERO PERTINACI
AUG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB POT. II.
IMP. III. COS. II. PROCOS. P. P.
VETERANI LEG. II TR. FORT. MISSI
HONESTA MISSIONE QUI MILITARE
CŒPERUNT APRONIANO ET PAUL"
. . . . . QUIBUS ET PERPETUUM

* * * * *

CON. V.
7 CELERIANA
M. GABINUS MAX. FLAMMIT.
7 L. PHILIPPIANI
T. AURELIUS CAPRIMONIA
C. VALERIUS C. FIL. APOLL.
7 SEVERIANA
M. AURELIUS POL. ISIDOR.
C. POMPEIUS POL. SEREN.
7 SERVILL. PUDENTIO
P. AURELIUS POL. PROCION. ALC.
C. JULIUS C. F. POL. HERMIAS
T. AURELIUS T. F. SARAPAMON
T. FLAVIUS F. APOLLINARIS
M. PURFANIUS M. F. COL. LO.
7 MARINIANA
M. AURELIUS POL. HERODES
CON. VI.
IOCTAVI AVELLIANI
M. AURELIUS POL. PROCION.
M. AURELIUS POL. SARAPAM
M. AURELIUS POL. GERMANUS
7 AURELI FLAVIANI
7 MARION. POL. DEMETRIUS C.
7 SECUNDIANA
M. AURELIUS PO. APOLLOS
M. AURELIUS ALEXANDR.
CON. VII.
C VIRIUS CASTRIS
SOLON

It

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in *Alexandria*, and a groom to assist us in taking care of them. After this, we had an opportunity of witnessing the sort of fare which the Commander-in-chief of a *British* army, who had so liberally provided for others, allowed for his own use. He gave us a general invitation to his table; adding, "If you have appetite enough to dine with a soldier, you will this day have something more than usually substantial." The dinner was served in his tent, and we sat down: it consisted of the remaining half of a cold pie, made by one of the privates the day before, containing some lumps of meat encased in a durable crust above an inch thick, of the coarsest flour: a surprising contrast to the magnificent entertainment we had experienced with the *Anglo-Indian* army in the Isle of *Rhouda*. Some of the officers informed us that such was his daily diet; and that it rarely differed from the

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It is thus preserved by Colonel *Squire*:

IMP · CAESARI
L. SEPTIMIO · SEVERO · PERTINACI
AUG · PONTIF · MAX · TRIB · POT · II
IMP · III · COS · II · PROCOS · P · P ·
VETERANI · LEG · II · TR · FORT · MISSI
HONESTA · MISSIONE · QUI · MILITARE
COEPERUNT · APRONIANO · ET · PAVLO
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · QVIBVS ET PERPETVAM

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allowance made to the common soldiers of the army. In the evening, we returned. It was quite dark, and the gates were shut; but we found no difficulty in obtaining admission, by means of our passport.

Saturday, *September* the twelfth. This day the flesh of horses, asses, and camels, sold, in the market, at a price nearly equivalent to half a guinea of our money, for a single *rotola*, equal to about a pound and a quarter. Mr. *Hamilton* went with us to the *French* head-quarters, and undertook to mention to *Menou* the result of our visit to Lord *Hutchinson*. We remained near the outside of the tent; and soon heard the *French* General's voice elevated as usual, and in strong terms of indignation remonstrating against the injustice of the demands made upon him. The words "*Jamais on n'a pillé le monde!*" diverted us highly, as coming from a leader of plunder and devastation. He threatened to publish an account of the transaction in all the Gazettes of *Europe*; and, as Mr. *Hamilton* withdrew, we heard him vociferate a menace of meeting Lord *Hutchinson* in single combat—"*Nous nous verrons, de bien près—de bien près, je vous assure!*" However, Colonel, now General, *Turner*, who had arrived also in *Alexandria*,

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with orders from our Commander-in-chief respecting the surrender of the *Antiquities*, soon brought this matter to a conclusion. The different forts were now occupied by our army; and the condition of the garrison was such, that *Menou* did not deem it prudent to resist any longer: he reluctantly submitted to the loss of his *literary* trophies. The *Rosetta Tablet* was taken from a warehouse, covered with mats, where it had been deposited with *Menou*'s baggage; and it was surrendered to us, by a *French* officer and Member of the *Institute*, in the streets of ALEXANDRIA; Mr. *Cripps*, Mr. *Hamilton*, and the author, being the only persons present, to take possession of it. The officer appointed to deliver it recommended its speedy conveyance to some place of safety, as he could not be answerable for the conduct of the *French* soldiers, if it were suffered to remain exposed to their indignation. We made this circumstance known to Lord *Hutchinson*, who gave orders for its immediate removal; and it was given in charge to General *Turner*, under whose direction all the monuments of *Egyptian* antiquity, resigned to us by the articles of the capitulation, were afterwards conveyed to *England*[1].

Surrender of the *Rosetta Tablet*.

(1) See *Hamilton's Ægyptinca*, *p.* 402. *Lond.* 1809.

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Every thing now seemed to indicate the speedy evacuation of the garrison by the *French*[1]. The officers and soldiers were actively employed in selling the plunder they had made. Negro slaves of both sexes, watches, jewels, horses, camels, sabres, were bartered in all parts of the city. A plain silver watch might be bought for three or four dollars; a fine *Arabian* horse, for about five and twenty. A *French* General sold two horses, of perfect beauty, with their saddles and bridles, to an *English* clergyman, chaplain in the fleet, for fifty dollars. Several valuable camels, from the great scarcity of every kind of provender, were turned adrift, to find owners without the gates; no purchasers being found, who would undertake the charge of them within the walls. A better understanding, however, began to subsist, at this time, between the contending forces. Some stragglers from the *French* army advanced, during the day-time, into the neutral ground between the two armies, and there offered their *Egyptian* sabres, and other articles, for sale to the *English*: here and there, even in the *British* camp, might be seen a *French* officer joining in conviviality with our

Intercourse between the Armies.

(1) The first division of the *French* army embarked at *Aboukir* on the 14th of *September*.

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troops; drinking toasts for the health of *King George*, the success of the capitulation, and a speedy deliverance from the government of *Menou*. The utmost harmony and good-humour prevailed at these meetings: and a sincere desire to quit the country was evident on the part of the *French* soldiers; every one of whom seemed to consider himself as upon an equal footing, even with the Generals of his own army[2].

French Institute.

In the course of this day, we visited the Members of the *French Institute*, at the house where they held their sittings; and found them assembled round a long table, inspecting and packing a number of drawings, plans, and maps[3]. We were very politely received, at our

(2) A *Creole* trumpeter, who had served under *Buonaparté* in his campaigns of *Italy* and *Egypt*, and pretended to have been always about his person, came one day, and asked, when the garrison of *Alexandria* would sail for *France?* As we could neither answer this question, nor were disposed to pay any attention to the account he gave of himself, he said, "If you should mention the name of *L'Esprit* to the little *Corsican*, you will find that I am pretty well known to him:" and, by way of proving his importance, he added, "*Quand j'arriverai à Paris, je lui ferai expliquer pourquoi il me laisse dans ce maudit pays-ci.*"

(3) The FRENCH INSTITUTE of *Egypt* was divided into four sections; severally consisting of the *Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy,*

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entrance, by *Le Pere*, Architect, Director of the Class of Civil Engineers: and we experienced from all of them that urbanity, which, in despite

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Economy, Literature, and the *Fine Arts.* The following persons were its Members.

(Those marked with an asterisk had left Egypt at the time of our arrival.)

MATHEMATICS.

* Andreossy.	Costaz.	Malus.
* Buonaparté.	Girard.	* Monge.
Fourier, *perpetual Secretary of the Institute.*	Lancret.	Nouet.
	Le Pere.	* Quesnot.
	* Le Roy.	

PHYSICS.

* Beauchamp.	Delisle.	* Dubois *(père)*.
* Berthollet.	Descotils.	Geoffroy.
Boudet.	Desgenettes.	Larrey.
Champy *(père)*.	* Dolomieu.	Savigny.
Conté.		

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Corancey.	Jacotin.	Reynier.
* Dugua.	* Poussielque.	Tallien.
* Fauvelet-Bourienne.		

LITERATURE and ARTS.

* Denon.	* Parseval.	Rigo.
Dutertre.	Protain.	Rigel.
Le Pere.	Don-Raphael.	* Ripaut.
* Norry.	Redouté.	

To these Sections of the *Institute* were also annexed the following persons, under the several heads of

Librarians.	*Commission of Agriculture.*
Coquebert. Méchain.	Champy *(père)*. Delisle. Nectoux.

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of the impressions and prejudices caused by the consequences of hostility, and the lawless deeds of a promiscuous soldiery during the ravages of

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COMMISSION of ARTS and SCIENCES.

Antiquaries.

* Ripault. * Pourlier.

Architects.

Balzac. * Norry.
Le Pere. Protain.

Astronomers.

Nouet. Méchain *(fils)*.
* Quesnot.

Botanists.

Deslisle. Nectoux.
Coquebert.

Chemists.

* Berthollet. Descotils.
Champy *(père)*. Champy *(fils)*.

Surgeons.

* Dubois. Lacypierre.
Labate.

Artist for Design.

Dutertre.

Geometricians.

* Monge. Costaz.
Fourier. Corancey.

Engraver.

Fouquet.

Civil Engineers.

Le Pere. Caristie.
Girard. Favier.
Faye. Dubois.
Le Pere (*Gratian*). Devilliers.
Martin. Moline.
Saint Genis. Duchanoy.
Lancret. Alibert.
Fevre. Regnault.
Chabrol. Bernard.
Jollois. Potier.
Raffeneau. Viard.
Arnolet.

Geographical Engineers.

Jacotin. Bertre.
Simonel. Lecesne.
Levesque. Laroche.
Jomard. Faurie.
Corabeuf.

Engineers' Constructors.

Boucher. * Gresle.
Chaumont.

Oriental Literature.

Marcel. Raige.
* Joubert. Delaporte.
Belletete.

Literati.

* Denon. Lerouge.
* Parseval.

Mechanics.

Conté. Coutelle.

Artists.

Adnès *(père)*. Adnès *(fils)*.
Aimé. Couvreur.
Collin.
Cécile *(Mechanical Engineer)*.
Lenoir *(Mathem. Instrument Maker)*.

Musicians.

Rigel. Villoteau.

Mineralogists.

* Dolomieu. Roziere.
Cordier. Dupuy.

Naturalists.

Geoffroi. Savigny.

Painters.

Redoubte, (*Painter of Nat. Hist.*)
Rigo.

Apothecaries.

Boudet. Rouhieres.

Sculptor.

Casteix.

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war, must yet be considered as the distinguishing characteristic of the *French* people, in their conduct even towards their enemies. We assured them, that although our business in *Alexandria* related to the *literary* acquisitions made for their nation by their army in *Egypt*, it had nothing whatsoever to do with the private collections or journals of individuals; and therefore we hoped they would allow us to compare notes with them upon certain points of observation, in which we might be mutually interested; and we further solicited permission to consult the splendid map of *Egypt* which their geographers had completed. This proposition was not acceded to on their part; nor, perhaps, was it reasonable, at that time, to expect that our request could be complied with. They very candidly confessed, that it would give them pleasure to satisfy our curiosity anywhere else; but that, under the present circumstances, they could only consider our inquiry as likely to lead to additional demands on the part of our Commander-in-chief; and for this reason alone they must decline acceding to our request. We had, however, a short conversation with them upon the subject of the Ruins of *Saïs*, which their countryman *Savary* had mentioned among the desirable objects of discovery in

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Egypt[1]; although *Egmont* and *Heyman* had published their notice of them twenty years before *Savary* began the account of his travels in the country[2]. These *Ruins* had altogether escaped their observation. They said that their researches had always been restricted to the march of their army, and therefore, in *Lower Egypt*, had been principally confined to the western side of the *Nile*; that they had heard of the ruins at *S'el Hajar*, but did not conceive them to be so considerable as we had found them. Being asked whether any of them had seen the interior of an *Egyptian* sepulchre, containing mummies, before the position of the bodies had been disturbed by the *Arabs*, they answered in the negative. With this information we took our leave of them, accompanied by one of the younger Members of the *Institute*, who kindly offered to accompany us to the Catacombs of NECROPOLIS, lying westward of *Alexandria*. These we were now desirous to examine.

Crypta of Necropolis.

Among all the antiquities of this once celebrated city, which after the destruction of

(1) See *Savary*'s Letters on *Egypt*, vol. II. Lett. 73. *Lond.* 1786.
(2) *Savary*'s first Letter is dated *July* 24, 1777.

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Carthage ranked next to *Rome* in magnitude and population, the CRYPTÆ OF NECROPOLIS are the least known, and the most wonderful. They have been incidently but not frequently mentioned, in the various descriptions given of *Alexandria* in books of modern travels[1]; but the Antients have left us much in the dark concerning their history. *Strabo* indeed, after giving an account of a navigable *canal* which extended from the *Old Port* to the *Lake Mareotis*, carries his observations *westward*, and notices the *Catacombs*, under the name of NECROPOLIS[2]. In the very brief description which he has given of them, enough is said to prove that every characteristic of the most antient cœmeteries of *Oriental* nations belonged to them; for they were suburban, and were situate in the midst

(1) See the "*Déscription de l'Egypte*," *par Maillet, tom.* I. *p.* 169. *à la Haye*, 1740. *Pococke's* Descr. of the East, vol. I. *Lond.* 1743. *Norden's* Travels, vol. I. p. 17. *Lond.* 1756, &c. *Savary's* Letters on *Egypt*, vol. I. p. 43. *Lond.* 1786. An Extract from *Savary* may afford a specimen of the manner in which these *Catacombs* have been generally noticed. This writer does not seem to have ever entered them. "At half a league's distance to the southward of the town, is the descent into the *Catacombs*, the antient asylum of the dead. *Winding passages lead to the subterraneous grottoes where they were deposited.*"

(2) Εἶθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις, τὸ προάστειον (*sic leg. Cod. MSS. Medic. Esc. et Paris. Vid. Lect. Var. in Strabon. edit. Oxon.*) ἐν ᾧ πῆγαί τε πολλαὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ κατακόμβαι, πρὸς τὰς παραχύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐστρῶσθαι. *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1128. *ed. Oxon.* 1807.

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of gardens[3]. Enough remains, also, in the severe simplicity of their structure, and in the few *Egyptian* symbols found within them, to shew that they are of earlier antiquity than the foundation of *Alexandria* by the *Macedonians*, even if we had not the most decisive evidence to prove that the *regal sepulchres* of the *Alexandrian* monarchs were within the city. As repositories of the

(3) "And he was buried in his Sepulchre, in the *Garden* of Uzza," (*Kings* xxi. 26.) In the same chapter, *ver.* 18, it is said of *Manasseh*, that "he slept with his fathers, and was buried in the *garden of his own house*, in the *Garden* of Uzza:" that is to say, in the garden of the sepulchre of his *own house*, or *family*; the cœmeteries of the *Jews* exhibiting always a series of gardens, each of which belonged to some particular family. Among the *Heathens* such gardens were places of religious worship. Thus in *Isaiah*, (*c.* lxv. 3.) "A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face, that *sacrificeth in gardens*." An illustration is hereby suggested of a remarkable passage in *Ezekiel*, (*c.* xiii. 19, 20.) "And will ye pollute me among my people . . . . to *slay the souls that should not die* . . . . Behold I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls into *gardens*." The *Garden* to which our Saviour "*oftimes resorted with his Disciples*," at the foot of the Mount of Olives, "*over the Brook Cedron*," (*John* xviii. 1, 2.) was, in all probability, a place for pious meditation, *in the midst of Tombs*; for the antient *Jewish* sepulchres extend over all the base of the mountain opposite to *Jerusalem*. Hither he retired to pray, the night before his crucifixion. And when his body was buried, "as the manner of the *Jews* is to bury," (*John* xix. 40, 41.) the sepulchre wherein they laid him was in "*a Garden*." The same custom of adorning cœmeteries with *gardens*, and resorting to them for meditation and prayer, still exists among all the *Eastern Jews*, who write upon the tomb of a deceased person, "Let his soul be in the *garden* of Eden;" also among the *Moslems* over all the *Turkish* Empire. It is said also of the *Mexicans* (*See Purchas's Pilgrim*, *p.* 804. *Lond.* 1614.) "The places where they buried them were their *Gardens*."

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dead, they were consequently places of worship, whose dark and subterraneous caverns were aptly suited to the ideas entertained of HADES, the *invisible abode* of departed spirits[1]. Of such a nature was the *Serapeum* of RACOTIS, described as of much earlier antiquity than the temple of the same name founded by one of the *Ptolemies*[2]. RACOTIS was in ruins before the building of *Alexandria*[3]; and the *Cryptæ* of NECROPOLIS, from their situation, can be attributed only to that antient city[4]. Having before shewn that the worship of *Serapis* in *Egypt* was long anterior to the introduction of an idol under that name by *Ptolemy Soter*[5], as related by

Serapeum of RACOTIS.

(1) Καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ Σάραπιν τὸν ἀϊδῆ δηλονότι. πρὸς ὃν φησιν ἄνω τορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν βιωσάντων, ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα. "Quem nos alio nomine Serapim vocamus, et qui est ἀϊδὴς, sub aspectum minimè cadens: ad quem Plato sublimes ait evehi illorum animas, qui quam optimè justissimèque vixerunt." *Julianus Imp. Orat.* iv. *p.* 136. *Vid. Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 237. *Francof.* 1750.

(2) "Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum." *Tacit. Hist. lib.* iv. *c.* 84.

(3) "Nam Racotis, quæ postea nonnisi suburbium Alexandriæ fuit, diu ante urbem hanc regiam ab Alexandro erectam, illic steterat. *Vid. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum, tom.* I. *p.* 231. *Francof.* 1750. Also the authors by him cited. *Pausanias, lib.* v. *p.* 432. *Strabo, lib.* xvii. *p.* 545. *Plinius, lib.* v. *c.* 10. *Clemens Alexandrinus, Protreptico, p.* 31. *Stephanus Ethnicographus, in voce* Ῥακώτης, *&c. &c.*

(4) *Jablonski*, &c. ubi supra.

(5) See Chap. V. p. 263, Note (5), of this volume. In addition to the evidence there offered for the antiquity of the worship of *Serapis* in *Egypt*, may be also cited the following powerful argument, as urged by

Tacitus[6], and also mentioned the authorities which refer its origin to the death of the Patriarch *Joseph*[7], it will be proper briefly to notice the opinion of *Jablonski*, as to this part of the *Egyptian* mythology; because a symbol which we discovered, forming a central and conspicuous ornament of the *Catacombs*, may seem to strengthen his opinion, and thereby shew that here was the *Serapeum* of RACOTIS. He endeavours to prove, from various authorities, but principally by a passage which he has cited from the *Saturnalia* of *Macrobius*[8], that SERAPIS was a type of the *infernal sun*, that is to say, of the sun during its course through the *lower hemisphere*, or winter signs of the Zodiac; as AMMON was of the *supernal*, or path of

Remarkable Symbol.

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by *Cuper* in his *Harpocrates*, *p.* 83. *Utrecht*, 1687. "Ante advectum ex Ponto Serapin, alius in Ægypto eodem nomine deus colebatur. Pausanias, lib. i. scribit Athenienses Serapidis cultum a Ptolemæo accepisse, et templum ejus ἐπιφανέστατον esse Alexandrinis, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει: unde absque dubio sequitur, ANTE PTOLEMÆUM Lagi F. si is, ut plerique tradunt, Sinopensem deum advehi curavit, SARAPIN IN ÆGYPTO CULTUM FUISSE."

(6) *Tacit.* Histor. lib. iv. cap. 84.

(7) See Chap V. of this volume, as above cited.

(8) "Hoc argumentum Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt, ipsius solis simulacra pinnata fingentes; quibus color apud illos non unus est. Alterum enim cæruleâ specie, alterum clarâ fingunt; ex his clarum superum, et cæruleum inferum vocant. Inferi autem nomen Soli datur, cum in inferiore hemisphærio, id est hyematibus signis, cursum suum peragit; superi, cum partem Zodiaci ambit æstivam." *Macrob. Saturnal. lib.* i. *c.* 19.

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the sun during the summer months[1]. Hence the name of HADES, bestowed upon *Serapis* by the Emperor *Julian*[2], and the analogy between this deity and the *Pluto* of the *Greeks*[3]. According to *Macrobius*, the *Egyptians* were wont to represent the sun, in their winged images of that luminary, with two colours[4]; one being *white*, as typical of *Ammon* or the *supernal sun;* the other *blue*, to denote *Serapis*, or the sun's descent into *Hades* during winter, when it received the appellation of *infernal*[5]. It is a very curious circumstance, that the distinctions of colour mentioned by *Macrobius* may be noticed in all the mythological paintings of the *Tahtars*, the *Chinese*, and the

(1) "Sol *superus* et clarus est AMMON. Sol cæruleus et *inferus* est, ut mihi persuadeo, SERAPIS." *Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *p.* 235. *Francof.* 1750.

(2) See the observation of *Julian* upon *Serapis*, as before cited. See also *Cyrill. Alexand. adversus Julian. p.* 13.

(3) "Scriptores plerique, ubi ad *Serapidem* eorum deflectit oratio, eum ferè semper *Plutonem* interpretari soliti fuerint." *Jablonski, ubi supra, p.* 236. See also the authors by him cited. *Diodorus, lib.* i. *p.* 22. *Clemens Alexandr. in Protreptico, passim. Eusebius, Præparat. Evang. lib.* iii. *c.* 11. *p.* 113. *Porphyrius Julianus, Imp. Orat.* 4. *p.* 136. *Cyrill. Alexandr. lib.* i. *in Julian. p.* 13. *Aristides, Oratione in Serapim, passim.*

(4) Vid. *Macrob. Saturnal.* ubi supra.

(5) Hence, perhaps, the very antient superstition of the *blue* colour of flame at the approach of departed spirits, coming from *Hades*. One of the Witches in *Macbeth* begins her incantation, "*Blue spirits and white!*" *&c.*

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people of *Japan*, where an image of the *Sun* is introduced; but with this difference, that the colours, instead of being *white* and *blue*, are *white* and *red*[6]. The inhabitants of some parts of *India*, as it is well known, who are worshippers of the *Sun*, revere the *invisible* as well as the *visible* luminary; the former of which answers to ΑΪΔΗΣ and ΑΟΡΑΤΟΣ of the *Egyptians* and the *Greeks*[7]. This notion of *Jablonski* concerning SERAPIS is by him opposed to an opinion of the Fathers, which maintained that SERAPIS was a symbol of *Joseph:* but even admitting it to be true in its fullest extent, it will rather serve to confirm that opinion, if attention be paid to the titles which the *Egyptians* were accustomed to bestow upon their deified princes. The language of the valuable *Inscription* on the *Rosetta Tablet* will set this truth in a very clear point of view: we there

(6) The reader may see such representations in the engravings made from the sacred Pictures of the *Calmuck* tribes. (*Vol.* I. *of these Travels, p.* 320, *octavo edit.*) In three of those pictures, this double representation of the *Sun* is introduced; although the plate have not been coloured, and the minutiæ of the distinction were little attended to by the engraver. In the original drawings, one orb is *red*, and the other *white*. The author at first supposed they were intended for the *Sun* and *Moon*.

(7) Φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν ἰάω,
Χείματι μὲν τ' ἀΐδην, Δία δ' εἴαρος ἀρχομένοιο
Ἠέλιον δὲ θέρευς.——
Dic Deorum omnium supremum esse *Iao*,
Quem hyeme *orcum* vocant, ineunte autem vere *Jovem*,
Æstate porro *Solem*.——

"Jam

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find the deceased sovereign mentioned, as being "LIKE THE GREAT VULCAN[1]." He is said to be "EVEN AS THE SUN, THE GREAT KING OF THE UPPER AND LOWER REGIONS[2];" and his successor is called "SON OF THE SUN[3]." If, therefore, the SUN in *Hades*, according to the most antient mythology of *Egypt*, was called SERAPIS, *Joseph* having descended *thither*, and being "EVEN AS THE SUN," according to a style of deification which was invariable in *Egypt*, where the customs of the country were almost as unalterable as its climate, would receive the appellation of SERAPIS, after the same manner in which the name of VULCAN, father of the *Sun*[4], was, so many ages

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"Jam bene intelligitur, quam bene et recte auctor versuum allatorum affirmet, *Solem* ab Ægyptiis, tempore hyberno vocari ἀΐδην, *eum, qui non videtur*, quoniam nempe lux ejus, illo anni tempore, sub terram demersa est. Eundem PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES dixit ἀόρατον τοῦ Σινωπίου, *invisibilem in Sinopio*. EUSTATHIUS vero, eodem loco allatus, testatur *Serapim in Sinopio Memphi coli*." *Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. tom.* I. *pp.* 236, 238. *Francof.* 1750.

(1) Καθάπερ ὁ Ἥφαιστος ὁ μέγας.

(2) Καθάπερ ὁ Ἥλιος, μέγας βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν τε κάτω χωρῶν. The word χώρων, in this Inscription, has been usually translated *districts*, with reference to the division of *Egypt* into *upper* and *lower*; but this division is of modern date; and the SUN would hardly be styled "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*." The expression seems to be metaphorical, and rather applicable to the antient notions concerning *Sol Superus* and *Sol Inferus*; as mentioned by *Macrobius*.

(3) Υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου.

(4) See Note (1).

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after, applied to *Ptolemy*, by the priests of *Egypt*. CHAP. VII.

We will detain the Reader no longer with such observations; but proceed to a survey of the surprising repositories that have given rise to them, and which received among the Antients the appropriate appellation of the "*City of the Dead.*" Nothing so marvellous ever fell within our observation; but in *Upper Egypt*, perhaps, works of a similar nature may have been found. The *Cryptæ* of *Jerusalem*, *Tortosa*, *Jebilee*, *Laodicea*, and *Telmessus*[5], are excavations of the same kind, but far less extensive. They enable us, however, to trace the connection which antiently existed in the *sepulchral* customs of all the nations bordering the *eastern* coast of the *Mediterranean*; from the shores of *Carthage* and of *Cyrene*, to *Egypt*, to *Palæstine*, to *Phœnicia*, and to *Asia Minor*. An inclination common to man, in every period of his history, but particularly in the patriarchal ages, of being finally "gathered unto his fathers," may explain the prodigious labour bestowed in Descent into the *Cryptæ*.

(5) See Chap. VII. of the Fourth Volume of these Travels, p. 323, &c. Octavo Edition; also the observations in Note (4) of the same page, as to the situation of such sepulchres.

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the construction of these *primeval sepulchres*. Wheresoever the roving *Phœnicians* extended their colonies, whether to the remotest parts of *Africa*, or of *Europe*, even to the most distant islands of their descendants the *Celtæ* in the *Northern* Ocean, the same rigid and religious adherence to this early practice may yet be noticed [1].

The *Alexandrian* guides to the *Catacombs* will not be persuaded to enter them without using the precaution of a clue of thread, in order to secure their retreat. We were therefore provided with a ball of twine to answer this purpose; and also with a quantity of wax tapers, to light our passage through these dark chambers. They are situate about half a league along the shore, to the *westward* of the present city. The whole coast exhibits the remains of other *sepulchres*, that have been violated, and are now in ruins. The name of *Cleopatra's Bath*

(1) Amongthe Wild *Irish*, every avocation yields to the paramount duty of conveying a corpse to its destination, whatsoever may be the distance of the place designed for its interment. When the bearers arrive with a coffin, which, in order to fulfil the wishes of the deceased, is to be carried to some distant part of the country, they deposit it in the middle of the first village or town at which they rest, whence it is immediately forwarded by others who become its voluntary supporters.

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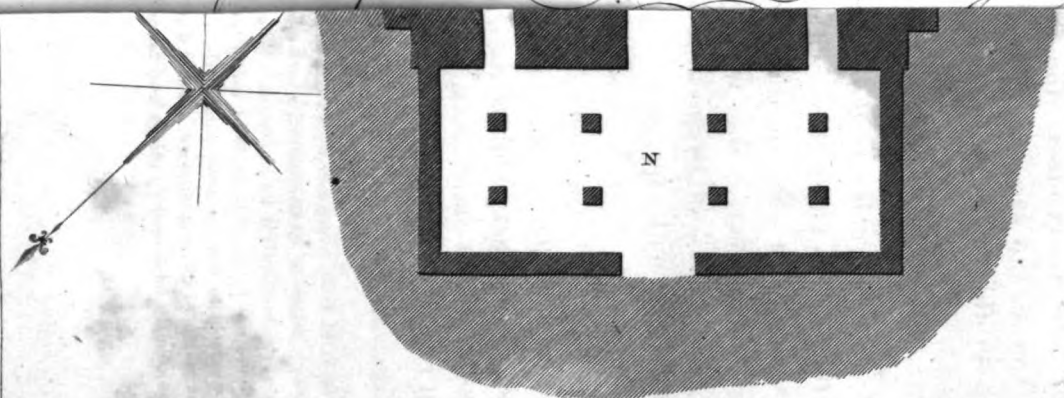
Catacombs of Necropolis at ALEXANDRIA as Surveyed by the French.



Scale of English Yards.

5 10 15 20 25 30

Rev.d C. Wilkins del.t

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has been given to an artificial reservoir, into which the sea has now access; but for what reason it has been so called, cannot be ascertained: it is a bason hewn out of the rock; and if it ever were intended for a bath, it was, in all probability, a place where they washed the bodies of the dead before they were embalmed. *Shaw* maintained that the *Cryptæ* of NECROPOLIS were not intended for the reception of mummies, or embalmed bodies[2]; in which he is decidedly contradicted by the text of *Strabo*[3]. Perhaps he was one of those who had been induced to adopt the erroneous notion that mummies were placed upright upon their feet in *Egyptian* sepulchres, and therefore was at a loss to reconcile the horizontal position of the *Thecæ* with his preconceived notions. We shall presently have very satisfactory evidence of the manner in which embalmed bodies were laid, when deposited within these tombs by the inhabitants of *Egypt*, before the foundation of *Alexandria*. The original entrance to them is now closed, and it is externally concealed from

(2) "The *Cryptæ*, &c. were not intended for the reception of *mummies* or embalmed bodies." *Shaw's Travels, p.* 293. *Lond.* 1757.

(3) Καὶ καταγωγαὶ, πρὸς ταῖς παριχείαις τῶν νεκρῶν ἰατυηδιαι. *Strabon. Geogr. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1128. *Oxon.* 1807.

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observation. The only place whereby admittance to the interior is practicable, may be found facing the sea, near an angle towards the *north:* it is a small aperture, made through the soft and sandy rock, either by burrowing animals, or by men for the purpose of ransacking the cœmetery. This aperture is barely large enough to admit a person upon his hands and knees[1]. Here it is not unusual to encounter jackals, escaping from the interior, when alarmed by any person approaching: on this account the guides recommend the practice of discharging a gun, or pistol, to prevent any sally of this kind. Having passed this aperture with lighted tapers, we arrived, by a gradual descent, at a square chamber, almost filled with earth: to the right and left of this are smaller apartments, chiseled in the rock: each of these contains on either side of it, except that of the entrance, a *Soros* for the reception of a mummy; but owing to the accumulation of sand in all of them, this part of the *Catacombs* cannot be examined without great difficulty. Leaving the first chamber, we found a second of still larger dimensions, having four *Cryptæ* with *Soroi,* two on either

(1) See the aperture marked A, in the annexed Plan of the Catacombs.

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side, and a fifth at its extremity towards the *south-east*. From hence, penetrating towards the *west*, we passed through another forced aperture, which conducted us into a square chamber without any receptacles for dead bodies; thence, pursuing a *south-western* course, we persevered in effecting a passage, over heaps of sand, from one chamber to another, admiring everywhere the same extraordinary effects of labour and ingenuity, until we found ourselves bewildered with so many passages, that our clue of thread became of more importance than we at first believed it would prove to be. At last we reached the stately antechamber of the *principal sepulchre*, which had every appearance of being intended for a regal repository. It was of a circular form[2], surmounted by a beautiful dome, hewn out of the rock, with exquisite perfection, and the purest simplicity of workmanship. In a few of the chambers we observed pilasters, resembling, in their style of architecture, the *Doric*, with architraves, as in some of the most antient *sepulchres* near to *Jerusalem*; but they were all integral parts of the solid rock. The dome covering the circular

(2) See D of the annexed Plan.

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chamber was without ornament; the entrance to it being from the *north-west*. Opposite to this entrance was a handsome square *Crypt* with three *Soroi;* and to the right and left were other *Cryptæ*, similarly surrounded with places for the dead. Over the entrance to this sepulchre we observed the remarkable symbol, sculptured in relief, of *an Orb with extended wings* [1].

It is to this hieroglyphical sign that allusion was before made; for this seems evidently to represent the *subterraneous Sun*, or SOL INFERUS, as mentioned by *Macrobius* [2]; and if the latter be *Serapis*, as it is maintained to be by *Jablonski* [3], we have almost a proof that the cir-

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(1) In one of Colonel *Squire's* Letters to his brother, dated *Alexandria, Christmas-day*, 1801, it is stated, that he saw "*a Crescent*" over the entrance to the circular chamber, and that it is perhaps on that account vulgarly called "*the Temple of Diana*." Perhaps Colonel *Squire* mistook the Orb for a Crescent, by discerning only a part of the symbol above mentioned. The author's description of the interior of these *Catacombs* was, of necessity, written from memory; it being almost impossible to make notes while exploring them. He certainly saw the symbol of the *Orb with wings*, as he has described it: but whether it were over the Entrance to the circular Temple, or within the Dome of the Temple over the entrance to the "handsome square Crypt" mentioned above, he cannot positively affirm.

(2) *Saturnalia*, lib. i. c. 19.

(3) Panth. *Ægypt.* tom. I. p. 235. *Francof.* 1570.

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cular shrine was the antient *Serapéum* of *Racotis*, alluded to by *Tacitus*[4]. All the rest of the history of these Catacombs seems to be involved in darkness, impervious as that which pervades every avenue of the excavated chambers. We endeavoured to penetrate farther towards the south-west and south, and found that another complete wing of the vast fabric extended in those directions; but the labour of the research was excessive. The *cryptæ* upon the *south-west* side corresponded with those which we have described towards the *north-east*. In the middle between the two, a long range of chambers extended from the centra and circular shrine, towards the *north-west*; and in this direction appears to have been the principal and original entrance. Proceeding towards it, we came to a large room in the middle of the fabric, between the supposed *Serapéum* and the main outlet, or portal, towards the sea. Here the workmanship was very elaborate; and to the right and left were chambers, with receptacles ranged parallel to each other. Farther on, in the same direction, is a passage with galleries and spacious apartments on either side; perhaps the ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΑΙ mentioned by *Strabo* for embalming

(4) *Tacit.* Histor. lib. iv. c. 84.

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the dead; or the chambers belonging to the priests, who constantly officiated in the *Serapéum*. In the front is a kind of *vestibulum*, or porch; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain precisely the nature of the excavation towards the main entrance, from the manner in which it is now choked with earth and rubbish. If this part were laid open, it is possible that something further would be known as to the design of the undertaking; and, at all events, one of the most curious of the antiquities of *Egypt* would then be exposed to the investigation it merits. Having passed about six hours in exploring, to the best of our ability, these gloomy mansions, we regained, by means of our clue, the aperture by which we had entered, and quitted them for ever.

We have now concluded almost all that relates to our residence in *Alexandria*, and to our observations in EGYPT. A journey to the *Oasis* would have been a desirable completion of the *African* part of our travels; but our friend Mr. *Hammer*, in whose company we hoped to have made it, had left the country; and neither our health nor the disposition of the *Arabs* were favourable to the undertaking. We forbear noticing many interesting objects of curiosity in

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Alexandria, particularly its prodigious *cisterns*, which are coëval with the city, because they have so often been described. The difficulty of "knowing when to have done," is perhaps never more sensibly felt, than in a territory so fertile of resources as that we are now leaving. The time is perhaps not distant, when *Alexandria* alone, a city once so vain of its great reputation and the rank it held among the *Pagan* states, shall again become the resort, if not the residence, of learned men, who will dedicate their time and their talents to a better investigation of its interesting antiquities[1]. So little are we acquainted with its valuable remains, that not a single excavation for purposes of discovery has yet been begun; nor is there any thing published with regard to its modern history, excepting the observations that have resulted from the hasty survey made of its forlorn and desolated havens, by a few travellers whose transitory visits ended almost with the days of their arrival[2]. Scarcely had we felt

(1) A local work of this kind, restricted entirely to the Antiquities of *Alexandria*, might complete one of the most splendid and valuable publications which have yet been added to the archives of taste and of literature.

(2) A very curious instance is afforded by *Bruce*, who wrote an account of *Alexandria*, and, literally, did not spend one entire day in the city. He was at sea on the morning of the twentieth of *June*, 1768, previously

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the importance of more accurate and careful inquiry, than, like our predecessors, we also prepared for our departure. A few days before the *French* garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, we set out upon a visit to the *Capudan Pasha*, who was encamped with the *Turkish* troops, in the rear of the *British* army. He had promised us a passage, on board a *Turkish* frigate, to any part of the *Archipelago;* and we hastened to receive a letter from him to the Captain, previously to the vessel's sailing for *Constantinople*. As soon as we reached the *Pasha*'s tent, he asked after the author's brother, Captain *Clarke*, and desired to see him. Being told that he had sailed with a part of the *French* army to *Marseilles*, he begged that we would convey a verbal message to Sir *Richard Bickerton*, then in the old port of *Alexandria*. This message contained nothing less than a request that the *Turkish* fleet might have permission to enter that port before the surrender of the city to the *English* army. We had consequently to return back to *Alexandria*, and give up our own business for the present.

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previously to his landing at ALEXANDRIA; *(See Bruce' Travels, vol. I. p. 7. Edin. 1790.)* and in the afternoon he left that city for *Rosetta*.

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Arriving on board Sir *Richard*'s ship, we delivered our message, and were invited into his cabin to dinner; but being desirous of carrying back his answer that evening, we declined his polite offer. He had before positively refused the same request from the *Pasha:* its renewal was therefore troublesome, and even impertinent; for it was well known to Sir *Richard*, and to Lord *Keith*, that it had no other design for its basis than the payment of the *Turkish Galeongies* by the plunder of the city. The *Capudan Pasha* was a person upon whom no reliance could be placed, although he had not then manifested all the atrocity of his character by the murder of the *Beys*[1]: however, he received us

Conduct of the *Capudan Pasha.*

(1) This happened soon after our departure. The circumstances are thus detailed by Colonel *Squire*, who was an eye-witness of the transaction, *in a Letter to his Brother, the Rev. E. Squire, dated Alexandria, Oct.* 1, 1801. None of the real or supposed massacres of *Buonaparté* can be said to have equalled this, in treachery or atrocity.

" We are now engaged in a sort of warfare with the *Turks*. Before this arrives, you will have heard the cause: but as you may wish to have an accurate account of this horrible affair, I shall detail to you the principal circumstances. The *Capudan Pasha*, whose encampment was in the rear of the *English*, wrote to some of the *Beys* at *Cairo*, requesting them to honour him with a visit. They accepted his invitation, although they had been frequently admonished by *Sir J.* (now *Lord*) *Hutchinson*, not to engage in too great an intimacy with the *Turks*. They were escorted from *Rosetta* to the camp off *Alexandria* by an *English* guard, and they remained with the *Pasha* under our immediate protection. Two days previous to their intended return to *Cairo*, the *Pasha* proposed an excursion to *Alexandria*.

During

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with great politeness, but returned this brief and pithy answer; that "*the first Turkish ship which presumed to enter, before the city was sur-*

During their visit, the *Turk* had loaded them with every pretended proof of civility and kindness. The very day on which this dastardly assassin perpetrated his black design, he swore by his beard, in presence of the *Beys* who were breakfasting at his table, and by the *holy Korān* which was before him, that he was their firm friend and supporter. When the entertainment was nearly concluded, an attendant came into the *Pasha*'s tent, to inform his Highness that a sufficient number of horses and trappings could not be procured for the whole of the retinue. The *Pasha*, hearing this, pretended to be highly incensed at the messenger—"*However*," said he, "*Gentlemen, we will not be disappointed in our excursion: my boats are in the lake, close to the camp, and we may proceed to Alexandria by water, where your Mamalukes, and my attendants, may meet us in the city.*" The cunning of this is evident: he separates the *Beys* from their body-guard, that there may be no prospect of an effectual resistance. The poor unsuspecting *Beys* embarked with the *Pasha*, and, attended by four or five boats, steered towards the inundation. Scarcely had they advanced a quarter of a mile from the shore, when a boat arrived, with a messenger who pretended to have a particular despatch for the *Pasha* from *Constantinople*. The *Turk* immediately opening the letter, apologized to the *Beys*, saying that he was obliged to answer the despatch, but that he would afterwards follow them to *Alexandria*. In this manner he left the *Beys*, and returned in the small boat to the camp; by this artifice avoiding the exposure of his own person in the scuffle that was to ensue. Shortly after his departure, the boats alter their course, and steer for *Aboukir Bay*, with an intention of putting the *Beys* on board the *Sultan Selim*, there at anchorage. The *Beys* now perceived the whole design of this dark plot. They first remonstrated; then resisted; and, exclaiming they were betrayed, a discharge of musketry was poured upon them from two or three of the boats. Endeavouring to defend themselves, they were attacked by the crew of the *Pasha*'s boat with swords. Notwithstanding all this, they fought manfully with their poignards. OSMAN BEY TOMBOURGEE, successor to MOURAD BEY, received seventeen wounds. The event of this affair was, that of seven *Beys*, and a *Cashef* or *Prime*

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rendered, would instantly be sunk." It was towards sun-set when the author reached once more the magnificent *Turkish* pavilion of audience, stationed on the borders of the Lake of *Aboukir*,

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Prime Minister, two were killed with the *Cashef*, one was most cruelly wounded, and two were drowned. Two only remain, who were made prisoners by the hired assassins of the *Pasha*. The whole of this transaction being reported to *Sir J.* (now *Lord*) *Hutchinson*, he immediately waited upon the *Pasha* at the head of his troops, and, after calling him, to his face, *liar*, *coward*, *villain*, *assassin*, and using every menace and other opprobrious expression until the mean traitor burst into tears, he demanded the bodies of the *Beys*; of those who were dead, as well as of the living. Thus intimidated by the spirited behaviour of the *English* General, the *Pasha* delivered up the three dead bodies, together with the persons of the living. The three bodies were interred, with military honours, within the city. Thus the *English* have taken a very decided part in favour of the *Mamalukes*, and God knows what will be the event. We are in complete possession of *Alexandria*; no armed *Turk* is permitted to enter the town. The same sort of scene has been attempted at *Caïro*. The *Vizier* pretended to invite the *Beys*, and to present them with pelisses: they have all been seized, although I have not yet heard that any violence has yet been offered to their persons. Sir *J. Hutchinson* has threatened, it is said, to march an army against the *Vizier*, if he do not immediately release the *Beys* from their confinement. Whatever may have been the *policy* of *England*, OUR GENERAL HAS CONDUCTED HIMSELF WITH HONOUR AND PROPRIETY. He could not have remained an inactive spectator of such base transactions. The *Beys* were *under his immediate protection*; therefore, by the common laws of hospitality, he was bound to declare himself their guardian. *His own honour, and that of his country, were pledged for their safety.* I saw this INFAMOUS TRANSACTION from our camp. I was witness to the firing of the musketry; but not suspecting what was passing, I did not take particular notice of the circumstance." *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

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near to the place where the sluices were cut through the *Canal of Alexandria*, for inundating the old bed of the Lake *Mareotis*. The *Pasha* was out on horseback; and the officers of the pavilion, drawn up in two lines, from the entrance of the tent to the rich cushions placed for the *Pasha* at the upper extremity, were amusing themselves with the tricks of a buffoon kept by the *Pasha*, who was mimicking the state ceremonies of his master when giving audience; consequently, one of his frolics was to receive the author as if the *Pasha* had been present. This unusual facetiousness on the part of the *Turks* was soon put to flight by the arrival of the great man himself, with his Interpreter; who no sooner heard the answer to his message, than, acting with much less dignity than his buffoon, he *spat* on the ground[1], stamped, and, abruptly quitting the tent,

(1) The malediction of the *Turks*, as of other *Oriental* nations, is frequently expressed in no other way than by *spitting on the ground*, of which an instance will be related in the next Chapter. May not this explain the reason why our Saviour, (who taught to "bless, and curse not," and who, in the annihilation of *Heathen* superstitions, frequently made the outward sign subservient to opposite purposes of grace and benevolence,) when he healed the blind and the deaf, is said to have "*spat on the ground.*" See *John* ix. 6. *Mark* vii. 33. and viii. 23. *See also a Note in Chap.* IX. *Vol. I. of these Travels*, where allusion is made to this custom, as practised at a *Russian* Christening.

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hurried on board a covered boat upon the lake, in which he was accustomed to pass the night, and made his appearance no more on that evening. All hopes of a passage on board the frigate seemed therefore, for a moment, at an end. But *Isaac Bey*, the *Capudan Pasha*'s interpreter and secretary, conducted the author to his own tent, and, pleading a sudden indisposition on the part of his master, promised to accommodate matters; begging, at the same time, that the *Pasha*'s behaviour might not be noticed at head-quarters, and desiring us to call again upon the *sixteenth*.

A curious adventure befel us upon our return for the second time this evening, *Monday, September* the *fourteenth*, into *Alexandria*. The *English* sentinels had advanced from their former stations, close to the gates of the garrison; the first division of the *French* army having this day embarked at *Aboukir*. The *word* for the night, as given by the *French* General for passing the gates, was "*Citoyen*." As the author rode up to the *Rosetta* Gate, hearing a distant challenge somewhat indistinctly, and supposing he had passed all the *English* sentinels, he gave the *word* as he had been instructed to do by the *French*. Presently, drawing

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nearer, he plainly perceived a soldier levelling his musket at his breast, exclaiming at the same time, with a broad Scotch dialect, "*Wha's that says Citoyen?—gee the richt word, or you're a deed mon!*" Had this happened during the negotiation for the surrender of the city, the honest *Highlander* would not, perhaps, have acted with so much forbearance; but the *French* and the *English* sentinels were then standing close to each other, and it was probably nothing more than a vaunt of his patriotism in the presence of his enemy. Some difficulty, too, occurred at the inner gates, which had never before happened; the sentinels there refusing to lower the drawbridge without a written order from *Menou*. We offered to shew our passport, signed by General *Réné;* but must have passed the night upon the sands, if one of our party had not resorted to a stratagem, and pretended being the bearer of despatches to the *French* Commander-in-chief. We were then allowed to enter; and being conducted by a sentinel to head-quarters, were permitted, after explaining what had happened, to return to our lodgings.

The *fifteenth* was passed chiefly in taking leave of our friends, and in preparations for our voyage to *Greece*. We obtained permission,

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through the kindness of *Signor Fontossi*, from whom we received many civilities, to trace with a pencil a beautiful plan of the *Catacombs* of NECROPOLIS, which had been finished by one of the chief engineers belonging to the *French Institute*[1]. A poor *Negro* girl, who had been sold as a slave[2] to some *Frenchman*, endeavoured this day to throw herself from a very high window; but being alarmed in the attempt, by the depth below her, held by her hands, and remained suspended in that situation until her cries brought some persons to her assistance.

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(1) It is the same from which the Rev. *G. Wilkins* completed the drawing of those *Catacombs* that was engraved for this work.

(2) The officers of the *French* army purchased a number of these slaves. The *Negro* women were particularly in request among them, and many were conveyed to *France*. The cause of this singular taste has been explained by one of their own *Savans*, in the Appendix to *Peltier*'s Edition of *Denon*'s Travels.

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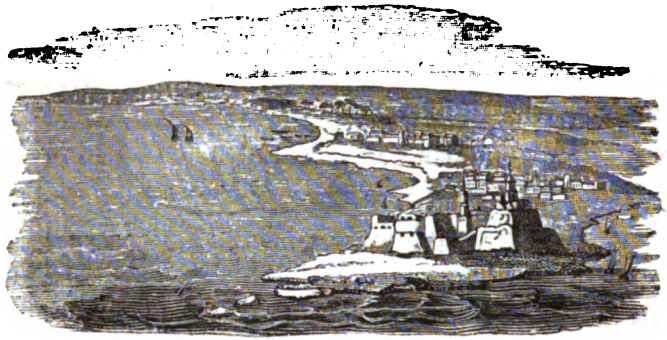

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ALEXANDRIA TO COS.

Preparations for leaving Egypt—*Journey to* Aboukir—*Cities of* Nicopolis, Taposiris Parva, *and* Canopus—*Uncertainty of their Topography*—Thonis—*Changes which have taken place upon the Coast*—Heraclium—Aboukir *Bay*—Turkish *Frigate*—*Persons composing her Crew*—*Discipline at Sea*—*Bay of* Finica—*Meteoric Phænomena*—*Eastern Coast of* Rhodes—Lindus—*Southern Shores of* Asia Minor—*Bay of* Marmora—Rhodes—Cos—*Town of* Stanchio—*Situation of the* French *Consul*—*Antient Sculpture*—*Inscriptions*—Asclepiéum—*Votive Offerings*—*Singular article of the* Mahomedan *Law*—*Population, commerce, and produce of* Cos.

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IN the morning of *September* the *sixteenth*, we left *Alexandria*: taking back our horses, &c. to

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the *British* camp. A *Chiaoux*, or constable of the *Turkish* army, rode with us from the gates. This man expressed great indignation that the *French* were permitted to capitulate for the surrender of the place: he said it was very evident that the *Djowrs* (Infidels) were all acting in concert with each other, and that their apparent enmity was a mere device to deceive the *Turks*. Being asked what the *Turks* would have done, if the whole management had been left to them; he answered, "*We should have cut off all their heads, to be conveyed to the Grand Signior; or have stripped them naked, and turned them into the Desert.*" In our way through the *British* camp, we called upon Lord *Hutchinson*, and endeavoured to express our gratitude for his unceasing patronage, from the moment of our first arrival in EGYPT, bestowed in the midst of his more important avocations; and we hope that this now disinterested memorial may prove that his Lordship's kindness has not been forgotten. We then visited a few other friends, who were rejoicing in the prospect of a speedy termination to one of the severest campaigns which *British* soldiers are likely to encounter—a termination, too, that covered them with glory. The number of the enemy expelled by our army from *Egypt*, after all the losses he had sus-

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tained, was greater than the aggregate of the *English* combined forces when they were first landed at *Aboukir*[1]. It was a contest against veteran troops, under every circumstance of privation; a species of warfare to which our soldiers were unaccustomed; carried on against men who were in full possession of the territory, were inured to the unhealthiness of the climate, and had all the advantages of position. Succeeding generations may indeed exult in the triumph thus obtained for our country; for, so long as the annals of our Empire endure, it shall be said, that "lance to lance, and horse to horse," the legions of *France*, who had boasted themselves to be *invincible*, fled, or fell, before the youth of *Britain*.

From the *British*, we went to the *Turkish* camp; and again had an audience of the *Capudan Pasha*. He had recovered his composure: and he gave us three letters; one to the Captain of his own ship, the *Sultan Selim*; a second

(1) "When we landed, the effective force of our army did not exceed 15,000 men. The *French*, an enemy well established in a country full of resources, embarked from *Cairo* 13,000; from *Alexandria* (*mirabile dictu!*) 10,000. We must perhaps deduct 5000, for the civil tribe and the merchants, who followed the army: there will then remain 18,000 for their effective force."—*Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence. Letter dated Alexandria, Oct.* 5, 1801.

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to the Captain of the frigate in which we were to sail; and a third to the Governor of *Rhodes*, containing, as he said, an order for boats to take us either to *Stanchio*, or to *Scio*. Thus provided, we continued our journey to *Aboukir*, along the sandy neck of land which stretches, in the shape of a ribbon, from the place where our army landed, entirely to *Alexandria*; having the Lake of *Aboukir* upon our right, and the sea upon our left. The whole of this tract is a desert, interspersed here and there with a few plantations of *palm-trees*. The *dates* hung from these trees in such large and tempting clusters, although not quite ripe, that we climbed to the tops of some of them, and bore away with us large branches[2], with their fruit. In this manner, *dates* are sometimes sent, with the branches, as presents to *Constantinople*. A ripe *Egyptian date*, although a delicious fruit, is never refreshing to the palate. It suits the *Turks*, who are fond of sweetmeats of all kinds; and its flavour is not unlike that of the conserved green citron which is brought from *Madeira*. The largest plantation occurred about half-way between

Journey to *Aboukir*.

(2) The leaves of these trees, when grown to a size for bearing fruit, are six or eight feet long; and may be termed branches, for the trees have no other.

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Alexandria and *Aboukir*, whence our army marched to attack the *French* on the *thirteenth* of *March*: the trees here were very lofty, and, from the singular formation of their bark, we found it as easy to ascend to the tops of these trees as to climb the steps of a ladder. Wherever the *date-tree* is found in these dreary deserts, it not only presents a supply of salutary food, for men and camels[1], but Nature has so wonderfully contrived the plant, that its first offering is accessible to man alone; and the mere circumstance of its presence, in all seasons of the year, is a never-failing indication of fresh water near its roots. Botanists describe the trunk of the date-tree as full of rugged knots[2]; but the fact is, that it is full of cavities, the vestiges of its decayed leaves, which have within them an horizontal surface, flat and even, exactly adapted to the reception of the human feet and hands; and it is impossible to view them without believing that HE, who in the beginning fashioned [3] "EVERY TREE, IN THE WHICH IS THE FRUIT OF A TREE YIELDING SEED,"

(1) The *Arabs* feed their camels with the *date stones*, after grinding them in their hand-mills.

(2) See *Phœnix dactilifera*. *Martyn's* Edit. of *Miller's* Dict. *Lond.* 1807.

(3) *Gen.* i. 29.

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as "MEAT FOR MAN," has here manifested one among the innumerable proofs of his beneficent design. The extensive importance of the *date-tree* is one of the most curious subjects to which a traveller can direct his attention. A considerable part of the inhabitants of *Egypt*, of *Arabia*, and of *Persia*, subsist almost entirely upon its fruit. They boast also of its medicinal virtues. Their camels feed upon the *date-stones*. From the *leaves*[4] they make couches, baskets, bags, mats, and brushes; from the *branches*, cages for their poultry, and fences for their gardens; from the *fibres* of the boughs, thread, ropes, and rigging; from the *sap* is prepared a spirituous liquor; and the *trunk* of the tree furnishes fuel: it is even said that from one variety of the *palm-tree*, the *Phœnix farinifera*, meal has been extracted, which is found among the fibres of the trunk, and has been used for food[5]. We cut off a few *djerids*[6], and sent them for walking-sticks to some friends

(4) See Note, p. 407.

(5) See *Roxburgh's Plants of Coromandel*, as published by the *East-India* Company, under the direction of Sir *Joseph Banks*. *Lond.* 1795.

(6) The name given by the *Turks* and *Arabs* to the *midrib*, or *longitudinal stem* of the *leaf* of the *palm-tree*. Hence the name of *Djerid*, given to the *equestrian sport*, wherein short staves are thrown by the combatants: these were originally *Djerids*; but this name is now common to all short sticks used as darts in that game.

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in *England*, as memorials of the spot where our troops displayed such signal heroism. Beneath these trees, we found some of the smaller brass cannon-shot used by the *French*, when driven by our troops along this sandy district. Nothing can exceed the dreary nature of all the prospect between *Alexandria* and *Aboukir*, if we except these plantations: yet in this narrow maritime tract[1], the whole of which may be comprehended in one *bird's-eye* view[2], were situate the cities of *Nicopolis*, *Taposiris Parva*, and *Canopus*, mentioned by *Strabo*[3]. A person actually surveying the country, considers the fact as scarcely credible; for where, in this

Of the Cities of *Nicopolis*, *Taposiris Parva*, and *Canopus*.

(1) The shape of it may be compared to that of a *band*, or *girdle*: and it is worthy of remark, that *Strabo*, speaking of the district between the *sea* and the *Canopican Canal*, uses the expression στενή τις ταινία: whether with reference to the territory between *Alexandria* and *Aboukir*, or not, others may determine.

(2) See the *Vignette* to this Chapter.

(3) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐπὶ Σχεδίαν ἄγουσαν, ὁ ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωβον πλοῦς ἐστι παράλληλος τῇ παραλίᾳ, τῇ ἀπὸ Φάρου μέχρι τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος· στενὴ γάρ τις ταινία μεταξὺ δείκνυσι τοῦ τε πηλάγους καὶ τῆς διώρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἥ τε μικρὰ Ταπόσιρις, μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον· ἄκρα καίτοι ἔχουσα Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν, καὶ Θῶνίν τινα πόλιν ἐνταῦθά φασιν· κ. τ. λ. "Post fossam, quæ Schediam et Canopum ducit, est navigatio secundum maritimam oram ei, quæ a Pharo usque ad Canopicum ostium perducit, æqualibus semper spatiis opposita: angusta enim quædam fascia inter pelagus et fossam extenditur, in quâ est Parva Taposiris, post Nicopolim ac Zephyrium, et promontorium ac Veneris Arsinoës sacellum habet. Hoc in loco dicunt olim urbem *Thonim* fuisse, &c." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1135. *Oxon.* 1807.

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confined and desert space, could those cities have been placed? Notwithstanding the very general observation to which the whole district has been recently exposed, nothing is less decided than the locality of any one of those places. Until lately, we had not the smallest idea of the geography of this part of EGYPT[4]; and even now, when we are become acquainted with it, it exhibits only a long ridge of sand, extending *east* and *west*, for about a dozen or fifteen miles, which seems liable, at every instant, to be washed into the sea[5]. If, as some have supposed[6], *Aboukir* denote the site of *Canopus*, the ruins engraved by *Denon*[7] under that name may have belonged to *Parva Taposiris*[8]; or to the antient *fane*, alluded to by

(4) See any of the Maps of *Egypt* previous to the landing of the *English* army in 180.

(5) See the "Survey of the Country between *Aboukir* and ALEXANDRIA," *Map facing p.* 340 *of the Third Volume, Octavo edit.*

(6) See the Notes to the *Oxford* edit. of *Strabo*, p. 1135, note 31.

(7) See Pl. 8. Fig. 2. tom. II. of the large *Paris* edition.

(8) They were thus alluded to by Colonel *Squire*. "Three leagues eastward of *Alexandria*, immediately on the sea-shore, are the ruins of very superb and extensive buildings. It is imagined these formed part of the city of TAPOSIRIS PARVA. Here are also cut out of the solid rock a number of places which have the appearance of baths. Not far from this spot, at a short distance in the sea, may be seen the fragments of several pieces of antient sculpture, *granite* and *marble Sphinxes*, a colossal fluted statue with the head of a dog, an *immense granite fist*, and other relics, plainly indicating the site of a temple." *Colonel Squire's MS. Letters.*

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Strabo[1], at the *Zephyrium* Promontory, where *Thonis* formerly stood. But, if this be true, where are the vestiges of the channel in which the annual devotees performed their voyage from *Alexandria* to *Canopus*[2]? It is evident this could not have been the *Alexandrian Canal*, if *Aboukir* stood on the site of *Canopus*; for this *Canal* has no connection with *Aboukir*. Was it then a *Canal* which, traversing the bed of the *new Lake*, now called that of *Aboukir*, communicated with the *Alexandrian*? All this is very uncertain. Neither the observations made during the time that our troops remained in *Egypt*, nor by the *French* who preceded them, have in any degree elucidated this very difficult part of the antient geography of EGYPT. The country itself seems to have been subjected to the most mighty revolutions, from the convulsions of Nature. The present state of *Nelson's Island*, and of the antiquities found upon it, prove that a very considerable part of it has been swallowed by the waves. The Lake of *Aboukir*, now a very considerable inlet of the sea, is the result of an inundation which happened within the last thirty years. How is it possible, there-

(1) See *Strabo, ubi supra.*

(2) *Strabon.* Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1136. *Oxon.* 1807.

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fore, to settle the topography of places whose remains are, perhaps, at this time, under water? The changes which the coast has undergone will render it no very easy task; and, certainly, it has not yet been determined. Whenever we undertook the inquiry, our investigation proved fruitless; and it is therefore better to state our uncertainty, than to aim at illustration, where there is so little chance of precision. Perhaps the difficulty may have been increased by considering *Aboukir* as the antient *Canopus*[3]. Misled by this opinion, the traveller is withdrawn from the line of observation marked out by *Strabo*. His route from *Alexandria* to *Canopus*, instead of being in the direction of *Aboukir*, may possibly have been along the course of the *Alexandrian Canal;* and if this be the ΔΙΩΡΥΞ on which the *Canopican* festivities were annually celebrated[4], we must look for *Canopus*, and also for *Heraclium*[5], rather in the direction of *Uthô*

(3) See Vol. III. of these Travels, Chap. I. p. 3. *Octavo edit.*

(4) Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς Κανωβικῆς πύλης ἐξιόντι, ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ Κάνωβον συνάπτουσα τῇ λιμνῇ. "E Canopicâ portâ exeunti ad dextram est fossa, quæ lacui jungitur, et Canopum fert." *Strab. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1135. *Oxon.* 1807.

(5) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κάνωβόν ἐστι τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ Πρωτόλεως ἔχον ἱερόν· εἶτα τὸ Κανωβικὸν στόμα, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Δέλτα. "Post *Canopum* est *Heraclium*, quod Herculis templum habet. Inde est *Canopicum ostium*, et ipsius *Delta* initium." *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xvii. *p.* 1136. *Oxon.* 1807.

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and of *Rosetta*, towards the *Delta*; or of *Rachmanie*, rather than in that of *Aboukir*.

It was about sun-set when we reached the shore near *Aboukir*. Here we hired a *Greek* boat, to take us to our former station on board the *Félicité* merchantman, lying among the transport ships, where we arrived at seven o'clock the same evening. The good old *Ragusan* Captain gave us a hearty welcome to his cabin, and prepared for us a supper of roasted quails and *pilau*. Lord *Keith* had sailed about four days before for *Malta*, which prevented our taking leave of him, and of the officers of his ship, from whom we had experienced many civilities. Dew fell in such abundance, that the decks were wetted as during a heavy shower: nevertheless, from the very *animated* state of the cabin, we preferred passing the night in this damp situation; and experienced from it no inconvenience.

We were detained in the fleet until the *twenty-third*. Upon the *seventeenth*, Mr. *Schutz*, who had been our companion since we left *Rosetta*, quitted the ship, and set out for *Smyrna*. During the whole of the *seventeenth* and *eighteenth*, it blew with such violence from the

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north-west, that our frequent endeavours to reach the *Turkish* squadron proved ineffectual. During one of these attempts, the crew being quite exhausted with rowing, and a considerable swell meeting the boat from the *north-west*, we put about, and hoisted sail. In this manner we were carried, unawares, so much to the leeward, that we soon found ourselves approaching the surf. The first symptom we had of this was in a wave which broke over our boat. A *djerm*, whose course we had imprudently followed, stood nearer in towards the shore, and gave us notice of our danger, by being stranded in view of us. These accidents happen so frequently to the *Arabs*, that they are under very little alarm when they occur. It was the second instance we had witnessed of the same nature[1]. The crew of the *djerm* were presently seen swimming towards the shore, having abandoned their boat, and its cargo, in the midst of the surf. We saw them all reach the land in perfect safety. In the mean time, having strained every sinew, by dint of hard and continued exertions with our oars, we succeeded at last in extricating ourselves from this perilous

(1) See Chap. I. p. 34. of this Volume.

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situation. The old *Ragusan*, when we came on board, was very angry with his men; and said he had been watching the boat with his glass, expecting every moment to see her meet the same fate which the *djerm* had experienced. Upon the *nineteenth*, we had better success, being enabled to reach the *English* transport ships, and to take leave of several of our friends. We also purchased provisions for our voyage; a little biscuit, some *Adrianople* tongues, and some *English* porter: all these were consumed by the *Turks*, nearly as soon as they were taken on board the frigate in which we were to sail. The porter had been sent as an adventure from *Malta*, and was sold in bottles, at the rate of thirty shillings per dozen. Many of the *Turks* are fond of it; because they may drink it without violating the prohibitory laws of the *Korān* respecting wine. Potatoes, the best of all provisions for a sea voyage, could not be had; rice was very scarce; and tea was not to be purchased. Encouraged, however, by the splendid promises of the *Capudan Pasha*, who had been so liberal to us upon a former occasion[1], we bestowed very little thought upon our means of

(1) See Vol. III. Chap. III. p. 80. *Octavo edit.*

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subsistence; little expecting what befel us in the sequel. The *nineteenth* was passed in looking over and transcribing the Notes for our Journals; and in buying a few books, taken on board a *French* prize, which had been destined for the use of the *Institute* in *Egypt*. Upon the *twentieth*, the wind being less violent, we set out for the *Turkish* frigate, called *Say Yaat Ebarey*, on board a large barge belonging to the *Félicité*. We pulled to windward as far as *Nelson's* Island, and then hoisted sail. When we arrived on board, we were ordered into the ward-room, where we were permitted to sling our cots. This birth (although contrary to the orders given for our reception, which had assigned us a place in the Captain's cabin) proved an advantageous one to us, as it enabled us to view the interior management of a *Turkish* ship of war. It was the rendezvous of all the officers on board; two of whom were *Ragusans*. These men, although entirely under the dominion of the *Turks*, conversed freely upon the ignorance and incapacity of their masters, and often entertained us with an account of their blunders and imbecility. They told us, that the superannuated Captain of the frigate had never been to sea before his present voyage; that, at the age of seventy, he had espoused a relation of the

Turkish Frigate.

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Capudan Pasha's, and obtained, in consequence his appointment to the frigate; that his nephew, a young man, had rather more experience, and held a station similar to that of First-lieutenant on board one of our ships. All the business of steering the vessel was left to the two *Ragusans*, and to an old pilot who had never consulted a chart in his life; the Captain's nephew having the management of the crew, and the care of the rigging. A few *French* prisoners were kept in irons, ready to be sent aloft in rough weather. To these were added, a sturdy buffoon, who might be considered as burlesquing the office of boatswain; it was his duty to preserve the good-humour of the crew, by all sorts of tricks and jokes; to promise, and sometimes to distribute, *bachshish*[1], when any additional hands were required in aid of the *French* prisoners aloft, and when the *Turkish* sailors refused, as they constantly did, to venture from the deck; an ideot, held sacred as a saint, and kept on board for good luck; a couple of dervishes; an auctioneer, employed daily in hawking commodities for sale between the decks; an immense concourse of passengers,

(1) An expression answering to *drink-money* in *English*.

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from all parts of the *Levant;* pilgrims, upon their return from MECCA; *Tahtars,* as couriers; sixty *Arabian* horses, belonging to the *Capudan Pasha,* with their *Arab* grooms; venders of coffee and tobacco, who had regular shops established in different parts of the ship;—and, to sum up the whole, a couple of *English* travellers, with their interpreter, a *Greek,* who was continually crossing himself at the scene of confusion he witnessed.

The first day after our arrival on board this frigate, we received information that the *Ceres* was stationed at a small distance from the *Turkish* fleet. We hastened to pay our respects once more to our excellent friend Captain *Russel,* and to the officers of his ship; but it was to take a last farewell of him. We had the melancholy spectacle of beholding him almost in his last moments. The fever which he had caught in *Cyprus* had scarcely ever left him; and Mr. (now Dr. *John*) *Hume,* the skilful surgeon of his ship, had given over every hope of his recovery. On the *twenty-second,* we received a visit from Captain *Culverhouse* of the *Romulus:* returning with him, we spent the day where we had before been so long and hospitably entertained, in company with the captains of other ships then

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at anchor in the bay. Here we received the news of NELSON's glorious victory at *Copenhagen*, adding to those triumphs of our beloved country which we had witnessed in *Egypt*; and the more highly gratifying to us, as, during our residence in *Alexandria*, the *French* had industriously circulated a report that *Nelson* had been defeated. Upon the *twenty-third*, at day-break, we were under weigh, and soon lost sight of the *British* fleet. Having thus detailed every particular of our voyage and travels in the most interesting region which it was our fortune to visit, and perhaps more minutely than was often necessary, the remainder of this section, relating to the rest of our observations and adventures in the *East*, may be given less circumstantially; because they will be found to have reference to countries better known, and where a strict attention to every notice of time and season, if it ever be of consequence, is here certainly of little moment.

We had not been long on board the *Turkish* frigate, before we began to perceive what sort of fare we were likely to expect. Every article of food we had brought with us speedily disappeared among the motley tenants of the ward-room. Muddy coffee, unsophisticated by any

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ingredient which might add to its nutritive qualities, could be purchased at any time, in small cups, each containing as much of the liquid as would fill a dessert spoon, the rest being substantial sediment: this, and the fumes of tobacco, promised to be the whole of our sustenance. At night, the spectacle on board was perhaps one of the most striking which persons unaccustomed to venture with *Turkish* mariners can possibly witness. The ship seemed to be left pretty much to her own discretion; every officer of the watch being fast asleep, the port-holes all open, an enormous quantity of canvas let loose, and the passengers between decks, with paper lanterns, slumbering over their lighted pipes; while the sparks from these pipes, with pieces of ignited fungus[1], were flying in all directions. Now and then, an unexpected roll called forth murmuring ejaculations of "*Ållå!*" or "*Mahmoud!*" and a few were seen squatted singly, numbering their prayers, by the beads upon their *Tespies*[2]. Upon one of these occasions, the weather being

(1) Commonly called *Amadou*, the *Boletus igniarius*, used all over *Europe* and *Asia* as tinder; although rarely applied to that purpose in *England*.

(2) See Chap. VII. Vol. IV. p. 305, Note (2). Octavo edit.

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somewhat boisterous and the night very dark, a gun was suddenly heard close under the ship's bows, and the snorers were presently in uproar. What had happened, or what was to be done, no soul on board could tell. A message came speedily into the ward-room, ordering the two *djowrs* (infidels) and their interpreter to go with all haste to the Captain. We found him, with his long white beard and flowing dress, surrounded by all the paper lanterns that could be collected, extending his arms upon the deck, and scolding the buffoon. Before he could articulate a word of his business with us, the report of another gun came like a clap of thunder, and, by the flash which accompanied it, this second discharge seemed to be pointed towards the frigate. He then asked us, in great agitation, what those signals were? and what would be the consequence of his not answering them? We told him we knew not what the signals were; but that if he delayed answering them, it was possible the next would be accompanied with shot. He said he had been ordered to answer *a friend* by four stern lanterns, placed one above the other. We advised him by all means to answer as to *a friend;* and after a general "hue and cry," the old Captain himself ascending the poop, the lanterns were

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displayed; but whether according to the proper form or not, was never ascertained. We heard no further cause of alarm. When tranquillity was somewhat restored, the old Captain, peering to leeward, affected to see what no one else could discern, and called out, with great seeming satisfaction, "*Kootchúk! Kootchúk!*" *a little one! a little one!* as possibly it might have been; viz. one of our *English* cutters, whose crew were perhaps amusing themselves with the awkwardness of our manœuvres, and the panic they had occasioned.

There was no log-book to which we could refer, as in our former voyages, on board *English* men-of-war; consequently, we had little opportunity of adding to nautical observations. The mercury, in *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer, stood, *September* 27, at 78°, at noon: yet, coming from a warmer climate, we felt cold, and put on our winter clothing. Towards evening, this day, the weather became squally, and the old Captain would gladly have taken in a few reefs of his wide-spreading canvas: the buffoon was accordingly set to work, to have this accomplished; in the mean time, the fore-sail went to shivers. Never was there a scene of greater confusion. In the midst of it, one of us

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attempted to assist, and even spoke to the Captain. His rage, upon being addressed by an infidel at this critical moment, exceeded all bounds. He spat first upon the deck[1], then into the sea, attributing the accident entirely to our presence on board, and cursing the whole race of Christians, as the authors of all the ill-luck he had ever experienced. The gale increased; but it came on from the *north-west* with more steady violence, and, by taking it *in poop*, and running before it, according to the invariable practice of the *Turks*, we were secure as long as sea-room could be found. It continued in this manner during one entire night; and if it had not abated the next morning, *Sept.* 28th, the ship, being suffered to drive, would have been wrecked upon the first lee-shore that intervened in her course towards the *south-east*. This day, at noon, the author having found an excellent sextant in the ward-room, which had been taken from a *French* prisoner, made an observation of the ship's latitude; and calculating, as well as he was able, the course she had made, upon a

(1) The *Oriental* mode of *cursing*, by *spitting upon the ground*. Allusion has been already made to this practice in the former Chapter. See p. 400, Note (1).

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chart belonging to one of the *Ragusans*, ascertained her position, Lat. 34°. 50′, *French* Long. 48°. As the pilots on board, being out of sight of land, knew nothing of her situation, he sent the chart, with a respectful message, to the Captain, telling him the ship's latitude, and her probable distance from *Rhodes*, *Finica Bay*, *Cyprus*, &c. Upon this, he was summoned, with the *Ragusan*, into the cabin, and immediately asked, how he could pretend to know where the ship then was? Having stated that he had ascertained this by means of a sextant found in a drawer of the ward-room, and a calculation of the ship's course according to the common observations daily made on board *English* and other ships, the *Ragusan* was despatched to bring the thing called *sextant* instantly before the Captain. This instrument being altogether incomprehensible to him, he contented himself with viewing it in every direction, except that in which it might be used; and, stroking his long beard, said to the *Ragusan*, "Thus it is always with these poor *djowrs* (infidels), they can make nothing out without some peeping contrivance of this kind: now *we*, *Turks*, require no sextants—*we*, (pointing with his finger to his forehead) *we* have our sextants *here*."

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The wind changing, we continued drifting about, with occasional apprehensions of starvation, drowning, or being blown up by the ship's taking fire. The first land we saw was ascertained to be a part of the mountainous coast of *Caramania*, or LYCIA. Passing in view of the *Chelidonian* Isles, and *Promontorium Sacrum*, we stood in to *Finica* Bay, whither the *Turkish* fleet, lying at *Aboukir*, had resorted for fresh water from the river LIMYRUS, which falls into the bay, near to the village or town of *Finica*, where LIMYRA formerly stood. Here we were becalmed; and being near enough to see the houses on shore, we applied for permission to land, that we might examine the remains of LIMYRA, and also of MYRA, which stood near the mouth of another river, upon the *western* side of the bay. Our Captain, by the advice of his pilots, acted for once like a true seaman, and would allow no one to land; intending, as as he said, to get farther out to sea as soon as possible. As the evening advanced, a land breeze carried us again from the bay; but before night came on, it blew only in hot gusts; and being upon deck, we were in utter astonishment at the indescribable grandeur of the *Lycian* coast, and the awful phænomena by which we were surrounded. Stupendous moun-

Bay of *Finica*.

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tains, as the shadows increased, appeared close to the ship, towering above our top-masts; the higher parts being covered with snow, or partly concealed by thick clouds; the air around us becoming every instant more sultry and stagnant. Presently the whole atmosphere was illuminated. The mountains seemed to vomit fire. A pale but vivid lightning darted innumerable flashes over every object, even among the masts and rigging. Never surely was such a scene elsewhere exhibited! The old *Greek* pilots crossed themselves; but comforted us with the assurance that this appearance of the kindling elements was common upon this coast; and that it denoted favourable weather. We heard little thunder; but streams of living light ran continually from the summits of the mountains towards the sea, and, seeming to separate before they reached the water, filled the air with coruscations. Since, reflecting upon this circumstance as characterizing the coast, it seems to explain a fabulous notion which the Antients entertained of the *Chimæra* disgorging flames upon the *Lycian* territory[1], alluded to by

Meteoric Phænomena.

Chimæra of the Antients.

(1) "In Lycia igitur, à promontorio ejus oppidum Simena, *mons Chimæra* noctibus flagrans." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* v. *c.* 27. *tom.* I. *p.* 271. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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Ovid, in the wandering of *Biblis*[1]. It is true, that a volcano might suit the story better; and it is thus explained by *Servius*, with reference to a burning mountain in the neighbouring region of CARIA; the topographical history of the *Chimæra* being by some writers attributed to CARIA, and by others to LYCIA; but the existence of this volcano has not yet been ascertained: indeed, such is our ignorance of the whole coast of ASIA MINOR, from CNIDUS to TARSUS, including all the maritime districts of CARIA, LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, and CILICIA, that we have no account either of its ruins or its natural history[2].

Eastern Coast of *Rhodes*.

Sailing *westward* the whole night and following day, on the morning of *October* the *first*, at sun-rise, we made the eastern coast of the Island of *Rhodes*, and put the ship's head to the north. During this day we had some pleasant sailing, within twenty miles of the shore: the atmosphere being exceedingly clear, we seemed to survey the whole island in one view, from its *southern* towards its *northern* extremity,

(1) *Ovid.* Metam. lib. ix.

(2) In the number of *English* travellers now visiting the *Eastern* shores of the *Mediterranean*, it is to be hoped that some one will be induced to explore these regions.

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Coming opposite to LINDUS, the weather being calm, the author was enabled to complete an outline of this once-favoured land[3], according to its bearing at the time. It embraces nearly its whole extent, from north to south; shewing the relative position of LINDUS and RHODES, and the appearance exhibited by its rough, craggy, and broken land, as compared with the features of other islands represented in the former section. The country immediately around LINDUS is described by *Philostratus* as being the most rugged of the *Rhodian* territory. It was particularly favourable for the cultivation of the *vine* and the *fig-tree*, but ill adapted to other purposes of agriculture, and impassable for carts and waggons. In this, perhaps, it resembled the *Land of Judæa*, where corn has always been cultivated by means of terraces formed upon the sides of the mountains. From the nature of the land about LINDUS, the whole island received the appellation which it bears in *Statius*[4], of "*the rugged Rhodes.*" Our pilots pointed out to us the eminence on which the remains of antient LINDUS are situate. The collection of rarities once dedicated in *votive* offerings at the

(3) "Pulcherrima et libera Rhodos." *Plin. Hist. Nat. l.* v. *c.* 31. *L. Bat.* 1635. See also *Lucian.*

(4 In Equo *Domitiani*, lib. ii.

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shrine of the *Lindian Minerva*, must have rendered the temple, considered as a museum only, one of the most curious sights to which the inhabitants of *Greece* resorted. Vessels o antient bronze, military trophies, armour, and weapons, were frequently suspended as donatives, in their sanctuaries. But such was the antiquity of some of the gifts in the *Lindian* temple, that one of them, a *bronze caldron*, had been presented by *Cadmus*; and it was distinguished by an inscription in *Phœnician* characters[1]. An offering of *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*, seems to have been regarded as the principal marvel of the temple, notwithstanding the pictures of *Parrhasius* and of *Zeuxis*, by which it had been adorned; this was a linen *thorax* of net-work, each thread consisting of as many filaments as there are days in the year. The Consul *Mutianus*, says *Pliny*, had himself unravelled one of these threads, and had borne testimony to the fact[2].

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(1) *Diodorus Sic.* lib. ii. *Herodot.* lib. ii.

(2) "Mirentur hoc, ignorantes in Ægyptii quondam regis, quem Amasim vocant, thorace in Rhodiorum insulâ ostendi in templo Minervæ CCCLXV filis singula fila constare. Quod se expertum nuper Romæ prodidit Mutianus ter Consul, parvasque jam reliquias ejus superesse hâc experientium injuriâ." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xix. *c.* 1. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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From the *eastern* coast of *Rhodes*, our Captain stood over once more towards the coast of Lycia and the *Seven Capes*. In the morning of *October* the *second*, we found ourselves in the midst of islands and promontories, placed upon the bright expanse, as it were, of a mirror. It is quite impossible to afford, by description, any ideas of such scenery. The impression made upon our minds, who had beheld these sights before, was new again. The immensity of the objects; the varied nature of the territory over all the southern shores of Asia Minor; the prodigious effect of light and shade, in masses extending for leagues; the sublime effulgence and the ineffable whiteness of the snow-clad summits, contrasted with the dark chasms on the sides of the mountains; the bold precipices, and the groupes of numerous islands; the glorious brightness and the intensity of colour diffused over the horizon; these, indeed, may be enumerated, but they cannot be described. We continued surveying them, as if we had then seen them for the first time. The *Turkish* practice of keeping near the shore, when land is in sight, enabled us to view the whole coast of Lycia and of Caria. As we proceeded towards *Doris*, the eye commanded, in one prospect, the whole of that part

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of ASIA MINOR, even to the *Triopian Promontory*, or *Cape Crio*, together with the islands of *Rhodes, Syme, Sicklia, Telo*, and even *Scarpanto*, lying at the distance of thirty leagues in the *Carpathian* Sea [1].

During this day, we were employed in crossing the mouth of the GULPH OF GLAUCUS. Continuing our voyage towards the *north-west*, we found ourselves becalmed near the entrance of the *Bay of Marmora*, antiently that of PERÆA, the memorable rendezvous of our fleet, previous to the *Egyptian* Expedition. The magnificent harbour it affords has been described by other writers; but as it remained so long unknown, and may always prove an important place of refuge for vessels in these stormy seas, the author again availed himself of the tranquil situation of the ship to sketch the appearance of the coast, and to note the bearing of the land when the view was made [2]. It will shew the mountainous

Bay of Marmora.

(1) " Rhodiorum insulæ, *Carpathus*, quæ mari nomen dedit." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* v. *c.* 31. *tom.* I. *p.* 280. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(2) A short extract from Colonel *Squire's* MS. Correspondence will afford the reader a description of this bay; and the curious circumstance of the " *myrtle fascines*," prepared for the attack in *Egypt*, will not pass without observation. It is taken from a Letter to the Rev. *E. Squire*, dated *Marmorice Bay, Jan.* 21, 1801."

" Our present situation is as charming and picturesque as can well be imagined: the bay is completely landlocked, and, from within, appears

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course of the territory opposite *Rhodes*; although the features of Nature do not here present so gigantic an appearance as to the eastward of the *Seven Capes*. The wind afterwards becoming favourable for *Rhodes*, we stood for the town; and coming close to it, fired a gun, as a signal for a boat to put off to the ship. When the boat arrived, we represented to the Captain the necessity of our landing with the despatches from the *Capudan Pasha*, which he had charged us to deliver with our own hands to the Governor; but the wary old *Turk*, apprehending at least the possibility of its being an order for his own execution[3], delivered the despatches

appears as a sheet of water, or lake, surrounded by lofty mountains, wooded to the very summit; but here and there divided by deep impenetrable valleys, thick with shrubs of every description; to which a clear, yet constant stream, imparts freshness and verdure. Sometimes one height is separated from another by a large extensive plain, divided into fields, and covered with an abundance of cattle: add to these, the little town of *Marmorice*, with its mosque and minaret, the shipping at anchor, the boats passing to and fro, the tents on different parts of the shore, and the variety of objects, will be found to compose a picture that can never be surpassed. On the *ninth instant*, my brother officers and myself were landed, and encamped with a party of two hundred artificers, for the purpose of making *fascines*, and preparing our particular branch of the service for the ensuing campaign. Would you believe that most of our *fascines* are of the most beautiful *myrtle*; and that, probably, in a few weeks, WE SHALL BE PLANTING OUR CANNON IN MYRTLE BATTERIES BEFORE ALEXANDRIA?" *Colonel Squire's MS. Correspondence.*

(3) The grandees of *Turkey* are sometimes sent to *Rhodes*, when it is necessary to get rid of them, with an order to the Governor for their own execution.

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to the boatmen, and, without waiting for any answer, made all the sail he could to get away from the island. The *Ragusans* explained his conduct to us; for it seemed otherwise unaccountable that he should thus wantonly disobey his commanding officer, to whom, at the same time, he was so nearly related.

On the following morning, we found that we had made but little progress, being off the Island of *Episcopia*, or *Piscopy*, called *Hellika* by the *Turks*, and *Telo* by the modern *Greeks*, antiently TELOS[1]. Thence doubling again the *Triopian Promontory*, we came once more in sight of Cos, and arrived near the town of *Stanchio*, *Sunday*, *October* the *fourth*. Here a *Dervish*, who came with us from *Egypt*, wished to go on shore; and as we had still much to do in *Greece*, and were very desirous of leaving the *Turkish* frigate, we renewed our applications to the Captain to enable us to land with the *Dervish*. He told us not to lose a moment, if such were our intentions; as the small boat which he had prepared was incapable of containing many persons, and it was filling very fast from the port-holes. We committed some

Town of *Stanchio*.

(1) See Plate facing p. 220 of the First Section of Part II. of the Quarto Edition of these Travels.

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of our trunks to his care, to be conveyed to *Constantinople;* and taking with us as few necessaries as possible, leaped into the midst of the crowd in the boat, at the moment in which it was leaving the ship. Fortunately, the sea was perfectly calm; for we soon found that with the smallest motion we should all go to the bottom, the water being already even with the boat's edge; and it required the utmost caution, in rowing her three miles from the ship to the shore, to prevent her filling; so deeply was she laden.

A *Greek* bishop had arrived in *Stanchio* since our last visit, to whom we were introduced. He began already to wish for the money which his preferment had cost him; having gained nothing by the bargain, excepting a fine painted and gilded *firmân,* from *Constantinople,* which no one respected. He intended, however, as he told us, to reimburse himself in his capacity of magistrate; the bishops in the Isles acting as justices of the peace, in all disputes among the *Greeks,* and generally taking care to be well paid for their trouble. He accompanied us to the Governor; where, having obtained an audience, we produced a letter from the *Capudan Pasha,* enjoining all persons, as far as the

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Turkish power by sea extended, to render us assistance during our travels. We told the Governor, that we had no other favour to ask of him, than to procure for us some vessel which we might hire by the month. He said there was nothing suitable at present in the harbour; but desired our Interpreter to accompany one of his officers to the opposite port of *Brûdrûn* (HALICARNASSUS), where it might be possible to find something suited to our undertaking. To this we agreed, and hired a set of apartments near the bishop's house, where we remained, waiting the return of our messengers.

Situation of the *French* Consul.

The next day we received a visit from our old friend the *French* Consul, who came to welcome our arrival, and, poor as he was, to offer his services. He had not received a single *sous* from his Government since he had resided upon the island; nor was there any prospect that the arrears would be paid. While he remained with us, he received information that a transport ship, with *French* prisoners from *Egypt*, having separated from the convoy, had put in for water and provisions. We told him, that a proper opportunity now offered of obtaining some supply from his countrymen; as they had been allowed to remove to *France* the wealth

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which they had acquired in *Egypt* by plunder, and, doubtless, had much treasure on board. He smiled at the idea of receiving assistance from any of the "*Heroes of the Republic!*" but allowed us to make the experiment; stating first a memorial of his case in writing, and addressing it to the officers and privates in the transport. With this document we hastened on board; and being conducted into the cabin, found there a General of the *French* army, who had lost a leg in one of the late actions, and was confined to his cot, surrounded by *French* soldiers, some of whom were officers, all disputing and talking at once. As soon as we had obtained a hearing, we presented our petition, and endeavoured to urge the suit entrusted to us with all the persuasion we could use. It was to no purpose. The Consul, they said, might be a man of merit; he had served his country faithfully; but there was nothing in their situation, or in his, that could warrant an interposition on their part between the republic and its agents. We contended, that it ought not to be considered as an interference in State matters, but as a work of common charity, and as an act of real patriotism: but these terms, *charity* and *patriotism*, as they were to be *paid for*, were not very graciously received. After

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a few more appeals and repulses, bows, protestations, and grimaces, we were forced to return without having accomplished the object of our mission.

During four days that we were detained upon the island, we renewed our search after antiquities, and particularly after *Inscriptions*. We had every reason to believe that remains of this kind might be found within the Castle; but our entrance was, as usual, strictly prohibited. The Consul himself had never obtained admission; so cautious are the *Turks* in preventing foreigners from inspecting their fortifications. We ventured, however, upon the drawbridge which crosses the moat on the land side; and as we drew near to the gateway, observed, above the entrance, six masks[1], of the most exquisite sculpture: some of these were represented with beards. We saw, also, very distinctly, the letters of a *Greek* Inscription on each side of the entrance[2].

Antient Sculpture.

(1) A part of the *frieze* mentioned in the former Section of these Travels, Vol. III. Chap. VII. p. 266, Note (1).

(2) As neither of these *Inscriptions* has been observed or published by *Spon*, or any other former traveller, no apology is necessary for their insertion here. It may be said, that a more methodical distribution of the subject of these Travels would have required their introduction into the account of *Cos*, as it was published in the former Section;

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These *Inscriptions*, notwithstanding the expedition, and the circumspection also, requisite in tracing them, the author believes he has copied with accuracy. The first is a most affecting and beautiful memorial of filial piety in an eminently virtuous woman. It is in the wall, on the left side of the Castle-gate, to a person facing the entrance. It sets forth, that "THE SENATE AND PEOPLE HAVE HONOURED SUETONIA THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF CAIUS, WHO HAS LIVED CHASTELY AND WITH DECORUM; BOTH ON ACCOUNT OF HER OWN VIRTUE, AND THE BENEVOLENCE SHE HAS SHEWN TOWARDS HER FATHER." The legend is as follows; containing an instance of a *Latin* word *græcised* in πρειμαν; signifying "*the eldest.*"

ΑΒΟΥΛΑΚΑΙΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΑΣΑΝΣΟΥΗΤΩ
ΝΙΑΝΓΑΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
ΠΡΕΙΜΑΝΖΗΣΑΣΑΝ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΚΑΙΚΟΣ
ΜΙΩΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΝΑΥΤΑΣ
ΑΡΕΤΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΝΕΣ
ΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΑΣ
ΣΟΥΗΤΩΝΙΟΝΕΡΜΕΙ
ΑΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΤΕΙΜΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Section: but in the very beginning of his undertaking (*See Part* I. Vol. I. *p.* 3.) the author promised to make his Work "*as similar as possible to the state in which Notes taken on the spot were made;*" and he is not conscious of having ever deviated from his engagement.

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On the right-hand side of the gate, exactly opposite to this, is another *Inscription* of a similar nature, commemorating the exemplary conduct of a woman towards her husband; purporting that "THE PEOPLE ERECT ANAXINAEA DAUGHTER OF EUAEON, WIFE OF CHARMYLUS, ON ACCOUNT OF HER VIRTUE AND CHASTITY AND BENEVOLENCE TOWARDS HER HUSBAND." This is the order of the legend:

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΝΑΞΙΝΑΗΑΝΕΥΑΙΟΝΟΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕΧΑΡΜΥΛΟΥΤΟΥ
ΧΑΡΜΥΛΟΥΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ
ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΣΠΟΤΙ
ΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΑΥΤΑΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ

What an exalted idea do these records convey of the state of society, in a country where the private virtues of the inhabitants were considered as public benefits, and were gratefully and publickly commemorated by the Senate and the People; where the filial piety and the chastity of its women were thus honoured and rewarded! Even amidst the depraved state of public morals, in the modern cities of *Europe*, were these virtues estimated at as high a price, each nation would have to boast of an *Anaxinæa* and a *Suetonia*. Let there be only an equal excitement to virtue, and human-nature would

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be found the same in every age. The sublime and affecting institution of national honours for exemplary morals would not operate less effectually in this enlightened age than in the best periods of *Grecian* history; and although "the price of a virtuous woman be far above rubies," yet in such an institution even female virtue would find its value: "her own works would praise her in the gates," and "strength and honour would be her clothing."

We found other *Inscriptions* in our second visit to this island, but of less consideration. Upon a slab of *Cipolino* marble, forming a bench near to the old *Greek* Monastery, we observed an *Inscription* of some length, relating to one of the vessels employed in a bath; beginning ΗΠΥΑΛΟΣ, and followed by a list of names. Others upon votive altars were numerous. Near to an arch at the entrance of the Market, we saw an altar of *Parian* marble, ornamented with bulls' heads, having bands or fillets, as for sacrifice, falling on each side; and supporting festoons of flowers, beautifully sculptured. It had this Inscription:

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ

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These, with fragments of *porphyry*, *breccia*, and other materials of antient sculpture, lying about the modern town of *Stanchio*, and already alluded to[1], are all that we noticed upon this occasion.

Asclepium.

Of the renowned ASCLEPIÉUM, mentioned by *Strabo*[2], we could find no traces; although it be reasonable to expect that the remains of such a building may be here discovered: it was situate in a suburb of the antient city; not of *Astypalea*, the first metropolis of the people of Cos—for that city stood elsewhere[3]—but of *Cos*, a city built upon the point of *Scanderia*, to the *westward*; so that its suburbs probably occupied the situation of the modern town. Possibly the *Mosque* may now occupy the original site of the ASCLEPIÉUM: near to it there was *a grove*, consecrated to *Æsculapius*[4]. One of the assassins of JULIUS CÆSAR, *Publius Turullius*, a *Roman* senator, cut down almost all the trees for ship timber; but afterwards, being delivered up by his friend *Anthony* to *Augustus*, he was put to death. In the uncertainty which prevails with

(1) See Vol. III. Chap. VII. p. 266.

(2) 'ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕΙΟΝ. *Strabon.* Geog. lib. xiv. p. 941. *Oxon.* 1807.

(3) 'Η δὲ τῶν Κώων πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν 'Αστυπάλαια, καὶ ἦκισται ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ. Ibid. p. 940.

(4) *Dio Cassius.*

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regard to the age of trees[5], and particularly of the *Plane-tree*, which is known to exist for centuries, perhaps the marvellous tree of *Stanchio*, alluded to upon a former occasion[6], if it be not a venerable remnant of this grove, may, as a spontaneous produce resulting from it, denote its actual situation. The conjecture seems to be warranted by the number of antient *altars* still remaining about the body of this tree. The ASCLEPIÉUM was filled with the most costly *vows*; and, among the number, the most famous paintings of APELLES—his *Antigonus*, and his *Venus Anadyomene*. AUGUSTUS removed the last picture to *Rome*; and there consecrated it, in the shrine of his father[7].

Votive Offerings.

The custom of suspending pictures in churches, representing hair-breadth escapes from casual disaster or disorder, as *votive* offerings to patron Saints who are believed to have been propitious

(5) *Cowper* speaks of an *oak* which had flourished from the time of the Conquest (*See Hayley's Life of Cowper, vol.* III. *p.* 166. *Chichest.* 1806.); and allusion has been already made to the famous *olive-tree* in the *Citadel* at *Athens*, that existed from the foundation of the city.

(6) See Vol. III. p. 249.

(7) *Strabon. Geog. lib.* xiv. *p.* 941. *Oxon.* 1807. "Venerem exeuntem è mari Divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Cæsaris, quæ Anadyomene vocatur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxv. *cap.* 10. *L. Bat.* 1635. The same circumstance is also related by *Quintilian*,

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to the donors, is still common in many countries, particularly where the *Greek* and the *Catholic* religion is professed: in the same manner, models in wax, or sculptured representations of parts of the human body, such as the hands or the feet, recovered from disease, are often placed before an image, in small shrines near to the road side, in the defiles of mountains, particularly in the *Alps*. The most curious fact connected with the practice is this, that it is much older than the time of *Hippocrates*[1]. Such offerings have been made from time immemorial by the *Hindoos*[2]: but among the *Greeks*, it was customary to devote within their temples something more than the mere symbol of a benefit received; *inscriptions* were added to such signs, setting forth the nature of the remedy that had been successful, or giving a description of the peculiar grace that had been accorded[3]. In the

(1) It was also a custom among the *Romans*, as we learn from *Tibullus*:

"O Dea, nunc succurre mihi; nam posse mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis."

Tibull. Eleg. iii. *lib.* 1.

(2) The women, in many parts of *India*, hang out offerings to their Deities; either a string of beads, or a lock of hair, or some other trifling present, when a child, or any one of their family, has been recovered from illness.

(3) "Among the remains of antiquity which offer themselves to the notice

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churches of the *North* of *Europe*, and especially in those of *Denmark* and *Norway*, the traces of CHAP. VIII.

notice of the traveller in his journey through *Greece* and *Asia*, there are some hitherto not sufficiently regarded: and yet they are of importance, as being connected with the religious opinions of the Antients, and as being prototypes of a custom existing at this day in *Christian* countries. I allude to the *votive* offerings which were presented to some Deities, on the restoration to health, after a bodily complaint or disease. The eyes, the feet, the hands, sometimes* the whole body, were, as soon as health returned to the invalid, formed in marble, earthenware, and other materials, and offered to a presiding Deity. In *Italy*, and in other *Roman-Catholic* countries†, this custom still prevails; and in the *Greek* churches we have witnessed similar representations, in silver, wax, and other substances, dedicated to patron saints.

"A question here arises concerning the antiquity of this practice: In what country, and at what period, did it first commence? On these points we are in possession of an authentic fact, by which we are enabled to answer, in some degree, the question: at least, we are informed by it, that the antiquity of the custom is great; and that it prevailed in the *East*, and was thence probably introduced into *Greece*.

"When the *Philistines* had taken away the Ark of the God of *Israel*, the hand of the Lord, we read, was heavy upon them; and he smote them. When they determined to send back the ark, they asked their priests what offering they should make to the Lord, that they might be relieved from the disorder which attacked their bodies, and from the other calamity, that of mice, which destroyed the land. The priests answered, 'Ye shall make golden images of your emerods, and 'images of your mice that mar the land; and ye shall give glory unto 'the God of Israel; peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you.

* In the Island of *Santorin* there are some singular representations, on the rock. *Tomasini* gives the votive figure of a man in a dropsical state.

† "Ea quippe licentia, (says *Baronius*,) quâ Deorum delubra in Ecclesias Christianorum sunt laudabiliter commutata, alii quoque ritus a nobis benedictionibus expiati divino sunt cultui consecrati."

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this antient custom may yet be observed; the *dona votiva* being often suspended in the form of

'you. And they did so; and they laid the Ark of the Lord upon the 'cart, and the coffer with the mice of gold, and with the images of 'their emerods*.'

"This, we have no doubt, is the earliest mention of the custom we are considering. We have observed at *Phocæa* in the antient *Lydia*, at *Eleusis*, at *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, holes of a square form, cut in the limestone rock, for the purpose of receiving these *votive* offerings: sometimes the offerings themselves, eyes, feet, hands, have been discovered. At *Cyzicum* there is a representation of two feet on marble, with an inscription; probably the vow of some person who had performed a prosperous journey. The same subject is referred to in the engraving of a tablet published by *Tomasini*, on which are seen two feet, accompanied with these letters, QVIE IANAE H D, shewing that it was an offering by a person of the name of *Jana* to *Hygeia:* and if the word *Quie* be properly explained, *quiescentis*, the whole has reference, as we have observed, to a journey performed with safety.

"Women, after child-birth, made votive offerings; and a representation of the girdle was consecrated to DIANA†. *Acantherus* explains the subject of a marble, in which a person of the name of *Laomedon* makes an offering to the *Lochian Diana*, on the safe delivery of his wife.

"All these offerings, which were made either during illness, or after recovery from it, were termed χαριστήρια τῆς σωτηρίας: the words δῶρον χάρισμα, ἀνάθημα, were also used: and in Latin, *Dona*, and *Donaria*.

"As the temples of *Neptune* received the *votive* tributes of those who had escaped the dangers of the sea; so the temples of *Æsculapius* were adorned with tablets presented by persons restored to health. Invalids were allowed to sleep in the porticoes, and the interior, of the fanes of *Isis* and *Æsculapius;* and there, by the way of dream, they received

* 1 *Samuel* vi. 5, 11. "Solebant Veteres, (says *Bochart*, on this passage,) aliquo metu vel periculo defuncti, præteritorum malorum insignia ac monumenta Illis Diis consecrare, a quibus se liberatos putabant." *Hieroz. lib.* xi. *c.* 36.

† Called *Diana* Λυσίζωνος. *Zonam solvere*, in *Latin*, has reference to marriage among the *Greeks*, it referred to the birth of the first child. *Scaliger on Catullus.*

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pictures representing hair-breadth escapes, a deliverance from banditti, or a recovery from

received advice concerning the remedies they should use to procure their health. '*Julian* (says an old inscription) vomited blood; and 'was given over: the God told him to come and take the cones of a 'pine-tree, and eat them, with honey, for three days. He received 'his health, and came and returned thanks in the presence of the 'people,'

"'*Valerius Aper*, a soldier, was blind. The God told him to take 'the blood of a white cock; to mix it with honey, and make an oint-'ment of it; and apply it to his eyes for three days. He gained his 'sight, and came and returned thanks.'

"On these, and similar occasions, we must suppose the votive offerings were presented; many of which are found in *Greece* and *Asia**. They were fixed, as we have observed, sometimes in the rock, near the sacred precincts of a temple; sometimes appended to the walls and columns of the temples: they were fastened also, by wax, to the knees, or other parts of the statues of the Gods †.

"When we say, that the offerings were made in the temple of *Isis*, we must understand, that the honour was paid particularly to *Serapis*, joint-tenant of the temple, as the God of Medicine. '*Ego Medicinâ a Serapi utor*,' says *Varro*‡. See also *Cicero*, in his second book, *De Divinat.* Nor did those only who recovered from illness pay their votive tribute of gratitude to the Gods; their friends often united with them in this act of devotion.

"The period of the first introduction into the *Christian* church of this custom, once so prevalent in *Pagan Italy* and *Greece*, cannot be precisely fixed. But *Theodoret*, one of the *Greek* Fathers, has a passage in his *Therapeutics*§, which attests the existence of the practice, in the fifth century, of *Christians* offering, in their Churches, representations

* The medicine itself was sometimes placed in the temples; as in the case of a goldsmith, who, on his death-bed, bequeathed an ointment to a temple, which those who were unable to see the physicians might use.—*Ætius, Tetr.* xi. *Serm.* 4.

† *Juven.* Sat. x. 54. *Prudent.* contra *Symm.* lib. i. *Lucian. Philop.*

‡ *Turn. Adv. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. "An Æsculapius, an Serapis, potest præscribere per somnium curationem valetudinis." *Cicero de Divin.*

§ Lib. viii.

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CHAP. VIII.

sickness; and these pictures are frequently inscribed with the particulars of the case thereby commemorated. It was from a list of remedies collected in the temples, that *Hippocrates* of *Cos* framed a regular set of canons for the art of medicine, and reduced the practice of physic to a system[1].

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representations of parts of the body restored to health: 'Some,' he says, 'offer up effigies (ἰατρεύματα) of eyes; others, of feet; others, 'of hands; made of gold and silver.'

"The same spirit of religious feeling which prompted the *Pagans* to make the offerings we have adverted to, urged them to consider themselves, in every transaction and situation of life, as under the presiding care of some Deity; to whom, consequently, some manifestation of gratitude was due, in all successful undertakings. The husbandman, after harvest, offered up his instruments of husbandry; poets, and men of genius, consecrated their harps, lyres, and volumes, to *Minerva* and *Apollo*; conquerors presented some of the spoils won in war*. The temples of the *Greeks* were, we know, used, by different States, as Banks: to this circumstance was owing, in part, the vast wealth which they contained; and this was increased by the costly offerings † in gold and silver, presented on various occasions."

WALPOLE'S *MS. Journal.*

(1) "Tunc eam revocavit in lucem *Hippocrates*, genitus *in insulâ Coo*, in primis clarâ ac validâ, et Æseulapio dicatâ. Is, cum fuisset mos, liberatos morbis scribere in templo ejus Dei, quid auxiliatum esset, ut postea similitudo proficeret, exscripsisse ea traditur, atque (ut Varro apud nos credit) jam templo cremato, instituisse medicinam hanc, quæ *Clinice* vocatur." *Plin. Hist. Nat. l.* xxix. *c.* 1. *tom.* III. *p.* 187. *L. Bat.* 1635.

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* Of this description is the antient *Argive* helmet found in the alluvial soil of the *Alpheus*, at *Olympia*, by Mr. *Morritt*; now in the possession of Mr. *Knight*.

† One of the most antient offerings in *Greece* was that bearing an inscription, in *Cadmean* letters, on a tripod, at *Thebes*. *Herod. lib.* v. *p.* 400. Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἰὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων, ἰὼν is the emendation of *Salmasius*. νέων is preferred by *Villoison*, (*Anec.* ii. 129.) with ἀνέθηκε.

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CHAP. VIII.

Singular part of the *Mohammedan* Law.

A remarkable cause was tried while we were in *Cos*; and a statement of the circumstance on which it was founded will serve to exhibit a very singular part of the *Mohammedan* law; namely, that which relates to "*Homicide by implication.*" An instance of a similar nature was before noticed, when it was related that the *Capudan Pasha* reasoned with the people of *Samos* upon the propriety of their paying for a *Turkish* frigate which was wrecked upon their territory; "because the accident would not have happened unless their island had been in the way." This was mentioned as a characteristic feature of *Turkish* justice, and so it really was; that is to say, it was a sophistical application of a principle rigidly founded upon the *fifth species of homicide,* according to the *Mohammedan* law; or "*Homicide by an intermediate cause,*" which is strictly the name it bears[2]. The case which occurred at *Cos* fell more immediately under the cognizance of this law. It was as follows.

A young man desperately in love with a girl of *Stanchio,* earnestly sought to marry her; but

(2) See the communication made to the author by Mr. *Keene,* as published in Note (1), pp. 242, 243, of Vol. III. *Octavo edition.*

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CHAP. VIII.

his proposals were rejected. In consequence of his disappointment, he bought some poison and destroyed himself. The *Turkish* police instantly arrested the father of the young woman, as the cause, *by implication*, of the man's death: under the *fifth species of homicide*, he became therefore amenable for this act of suicide. When the cause came before the Magistrate, it was urged literally by the accusers, that "*If he, the accused, had not had a daughter, the deceased would not have fallen in love; consequently, he would not have been disappointed; consequently, he would not have swallowed poison; consequently, he would not have died:—but he, the accused, had a daughter; and the deceased had fallen in love; and had been disappointed; and had swallowed poison; and had died.*". Upon all these counts, he was called upon to pay the price of the young man's life; and this, being fixed at the sum of eighty *piastres*, was accordingly exacted.

Population, Commerce, and Produce of *Cos.*

The population of Cos had much diminished of late years. There were formerly 20,000 inhabitants; and of this number only eight or ten thousand now remained. Three thousand had been carried off by a severe plague the year before; and great numbers had been draughted, to serve as soldiers in the war.

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The island contains five villages: it produces *corn* and *cattle*. Its fine rich grapes were now selling for less than a halfpenny the pound: *pomegranates* and *melons* were in great abundance, and of delicious flavour. Its trade consists in the manufacture of *barrels*, and in the sale of *wine*, *brandy*, *raisins*, *lemon-juice*, *preserved fruit*, &c. Corn sold for four *piastres* and a half the *quilot*[1]: the average price was reckoned at seventy or eighty *parâs*.

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(1) The *quilot*, according to *Tournefort*, is a measure of three *panaches*; each *panache* is eight *oques*; and each *oque* is twenty-five pounds. *See Tournef. Voy. du Lev. tom.* II. *p.* 109. *Lyon*, 1717.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON THE

DISCOVERY, BY COLONEL CAPPER,

OF THE EXISTENCE OF

ANTIENT PAGAN SUPERSTITIONS IN MOUNT LIBANUS,

PARTICULARLY THOSE WHICH RELATE TO THE WORSHIP OF VENUS.

THE superstition discovered by Colonel CAPPER can be considered as nothing less than the expiring embers of those holocausts which once blazed in honour of *Sidonian Astarté*[1]. The *Venus* of *Libanus* was called *Asthoreth*, from the

(1) *Astarté, Astaroth, Ashtaroth, Asthoreth*, ASTARA, *(See the Inscriptions communicated to Part* 1. *of these Travels, by* CHARLES KELSALL, *Esq. from the Cimmerian Bosporus, p.* 402. *Second Edition.)* ASTAR, *(whence our word* ASTER: *See chap.* X. *p.* 317. *Note* 2, *of the former Volume: also* GALE's *Court of the Gentiles, B.* ii. *c.* 2.) Nothing tends more to elucidate and simplify *Heathen* mythology, than the constantly bearing in recollection the identity of all those *Pagan* idols which were distinguished by these several names; (to which may be added the other less similar appellations of the same *Phœnician* Goddess;) viz. *Atergatis, Juno, Isis, Hecate, Proserpine, Ceres, Diana, Europa, (Cicer. de Natur. Deor. lib.* iii.) *Venus, Urania, Dercetis, (Ovid. Metam. lib.* iv.) and *Luna*. The *Arabians* called her *Alilat*, and still preserve their *Alilvia*. Among the *Chaldeans* she was called *Militta*.

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number of sacrifices offered to her. *Eusebius* mentions this situation of her temple: it was built in the most secluded solitude of that mountain[1]. *Constantine* overthrew the temple, and, according to *Augustine*[2], abolished its detestable rites; but these, however, have in some measure survived, and remain at the present day among those wretched superstitions which degrade a multitude of human beings, to whom the Holy Scriptures have been hitherto denied. However impious and abominable these superstitions at last became, they were, in their origin, of a purer nature; having resulted solely from the veneration paid by a grateful people to those luminaries of heaven, whence they supposed all their blessing to be derived. Before the coming of the *Jews* into the *Promised Land*, it is evident, from Scripture, that the worship of the *Moon*[3] was cultivated by the original inhabitants

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(1) *Eusebius* de Laudib. *Constant.* Orat. et de Præp. lib. iv. cap. 1.

(2) *Augustin.* de Civitate Dei. lib. iv. cap. 10.

(3) It was from the *Phœnicians* and *Canaanites* that the *Israelites* learned this worship. "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven." (*Jerem.* vii. 8.) The *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* called the moon *Ashteroth*, *Astarté*, *Baaltis*. *Lucian* expressly says, that *Astarté*, that is to say, the *Venus of Libanus*, or *Queen of Heaven*, was the *moon*; and *Herodotus* (*lib.* 5.) calls *Astarté*, Ἀφροδίτη; as it is said by *Herodian* that the *Carthaginians* did, who affirmed her to

of the country; and there cannot be pointed out a truth connected with their history more capable of demonstration, than that the DEA SYRIA who obtained, by her *ten thousand* appellations, the epithet of *Myrionymus*, with all the fabulous history of her favourite *Adonis*, or the *Earth*[4], was, under all its modifications, but so many testimonies of this antient worship[5]. The numerous instances of popular *Pagan* superstitions retained in the *Greek* and *Roman* churches have been often before noticed; these were made subservient to the propagation of a more enlightened system of faith: and as, in our reformed religion, a part of the Liturgy of the *Roman* Church has been preserved, so it may be said that certain of the external forms, and even of the prayers[6], in use among the

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to be the same with the *moon*. This deity was worshipped by the *Philistines* in the shape of a *fish*. *Lucian (Dea Syria)* saw the image in *Phœnicia*; the upper part resembling a *woman*; the lower, a *fish*. And to this *Horace* has been supposed to allude, in the following line:

"*Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*"

(4) *Macrob. Saturn. lib.* i. *cap.* 21.

(5) See particularly the *Harpocrates* of *Cuper*, (*p.* 108. *Utrecht*, 1687,) and the figure of *Isis*, as engraved by him.

(6) The *Ghospody Pomilui* of the *Russians*, and "*Lord have mercy upon us!*" as it stands in our Liturgy, was a part of the *Pagan* Litany. (*See Young's Diss. &c. Vol.* II. *p.* 7. *Lond.* 1734.) *Vossius* says, that Κύριε ἐλέησον was an usual form of prayer among the *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*.

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Heathens, are still retained. A *Roman-catholic*, however, who prostrates himself before a wooden crucifix, or a member of the *Greek* Church making the sign of the cross, will not readily admit that the figure of a cross was used, as a symbol of *resurrection from the dead*, long before the sufferings of our SAVIOUR. Like *Albericus* examining the writings of *Abelard* [1], either of them reading such an assertion would deem it pregnant with the most noxious heresy; and yet, exactly after the manner in which *Abelard* refuted the charge of *Albericus* [2], we have only to open a volume of one of their own Fathers, to prove that this is indisputably true [3].

Jews. So *Arrian* (*Epict. lib.* ii. *c.* 7.) Τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενος δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ Κύριε ἐλέησον· "*Calling upon God, we pray, Lord have mercy upon us!*"

(1) See that most entertaining History of the Lives of *Abelard* and *Heloise*, as compiled from original documents, by the Rev. *Joseph Berrington*, printed at *Birmingham* in 1787. The passage alluded to is in page 136, and contains a salutary lesson for bigots of every sect and denomination. Mr. *Berrington*'s Work perhaps comprises the most able survey extant, and certainly the most amusing, of the state of literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

(2) See *Berrington*'s Hist. of the Lives of *Abelard* and *Heloise*, p. 137.

(3) *Socrates Scholasticus*, lib. v. cap. 17. *Camb.* 1720.—See "*Greek Marbles*," *p.* 78. The learned author of "An Historical Dissertation on Idolatrous Corruptions," (*Vol.* II. *p.* 58, *Note. Lond.* 1734) says, The Cross in *Egyptian* Hieroglyphics denoted *Life Eternal*; and that upon

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The enemies of *Christianity* long ago endeavoured to vilify and blaspheme its rites, by pointing out a resemblance between the history of our SAVIOUR'S death and resurrection, and the annual lamentations for *Adonis*, followed by the joy expressed for his supposed resuscitation[4]. But the fable of *Adonis*, although afterwards the foundation of detestable and degrading superstition, originally typified nothing more than the vicissitudes of winter and summer[5],—the seeming *death* and *revival* of Nature; whence a doubtful hope was occasionally excited of the soul's existence in a future state. This expectation so naturally results from the contemplation of such phænomena, that traces of it may be discerned among the most barbarous nations[6]. Some glimmering, therefore, of a brighter light, which was afterwards fully manifested in the

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upon this extraordinary coincidence between a *Pagan* symbol and the instrument of our SAVIOUR'S death, many of the *Gentiles* were converted to *Christianity*. *See Ruffinus, lib.* ii. *c.* 29. *Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib.* vii. *c.* 15.

(4) *Julius Firmicus* de Errore Profan. Relig. &c.

(5) *Macrob. Saturn. lib.* i. *cap.* 21. *L. Bat.* 1670.

(6) *Beattie* enables his Minstrel to derive a hope of the soul's immortality, from observing the vicissitude of the Seasons:—

> "Shall I be left abandon'd in the dust,
> When Fate, relenting, lets the flower revive?"
>
> *Minst.* xxvii. *p.* 16. *Edin.* 1807.

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Gospel, must naturally have occasioned indistinct traces of similitude between the *Heathen* mythology and the *Christian* dispensation. It was owing to such coincidence that St. *Paul* declared to the *Athenians*, "That God whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." In viewing these occasional resemblances, whether or not we be permitted to investigate their causes, the fact of their existence is indisputable. No one, duly considering the solemnities observed at *Easter* by the antient *Saxons* prior to the introduction of *Christianity*[1], or viewing at this day the ceremony of the *Greek* Church, particularly that of *Moscow*, when the priests are occupied in searching for the supposed body of the MESSIAH[2], previous to a declaration which ushers in the festivities of a whole empire, but must call to mind the circumstance related by *Gregory Nazianzus*, of the manner in which popular *Pagan* rites were made subservient to the advancement of the *Christian* faith[3]; as well as the remarkable fact[4], that, *on a certain night in the same season of the year, the Heathens similarly*

(1) See *Gale's* Court of the *Gentiles*, Book ii. ch. 2.
(2) See Vol. I. of these Travels, Chap. IV. p. 74. Octavo Edition.
(3) Orat. de Vitâ *Greg. Thaum.* tom. III. p. 574.
(4) Vid. *Jul. Firmic.* de Errore Profan. Relig. &c.

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laid an image in their temples, and, after numbering their lamentations according to the beads upon a string, thus ended the appointed days of privation and sorrow; that then light was brought in; and the high-priest delivered an expression, similar in its import, of resuscitation and deliverance from grief.

In tracing such resemblances, the celebrated *Middleton*, writing from *Rome*, observes, "We see the people worshipping, at this day, in the same temples—at the same altars,—sometimes the same images—and always with the same ceremonies—as the old *Romans*."

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No. II.

PASSPORT

GRANTED

TO MESSRS. CLARKE AND CRIPPS,

TO PASS AND REPASS THE OUTER GATE OF ALEXANDRIA, TO AND FROM THE BRITISH CAMP.

"*Armée d'Orient.*

"*Au Quartier-Général à Alexandrie,*
Le 24 Fructidor, An 9 de la République Française.

"RÉNÉ, Général de Brigade, Chef de l'État, Major-Général de l'Armée,—

"*Les Postes de l'Armée Française laisseront librement passer et repasser Messieurs Klarke, Crypps, et Schutz, Officiers Anglais.*

"*RÉNÉ.*"

END OF VOLUME THE FIFTH.

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